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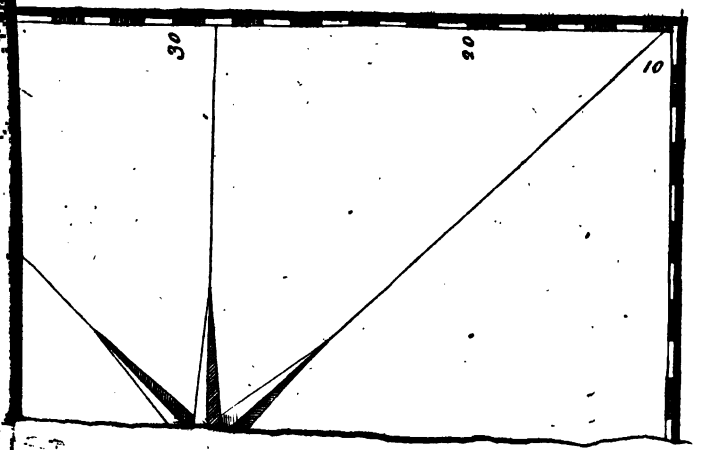

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AN

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OF

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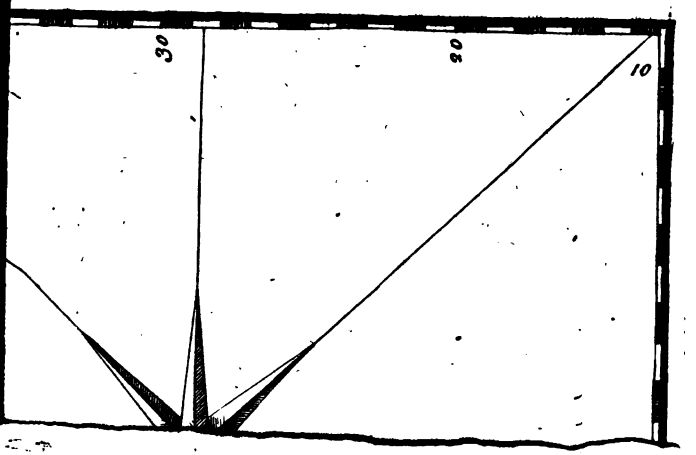

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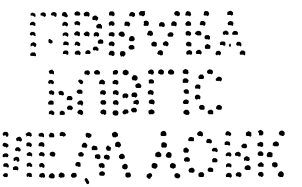

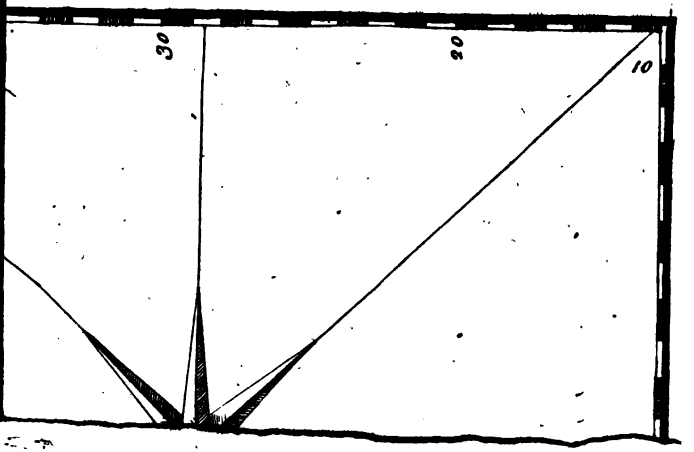

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF

CORSICA,

THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THAT ISLAND;

AND MEMOIRS OF

PASCAL PAOLI.

BY JAMES BOSWELL, Esq;

ILLUSTRATED with a New and Accurate MAP of CORSICA.

Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit.
Lit. Comit. et Baron. Scotiae ad Pap. A. D. 1320.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
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DEDICATION

TO

PASCAL PAOLI

GENERAL OF

THE CORSICANS.

SIR,

DEDICATIONS are for moſt part the offerings of intereſted ſervility, or the effuſions of partial zeal; enumerating the virtues of men in whom no virtues can be found, or predicting greatneſs to thoſe who afterwards paſs their days in unambitious indolence, and die leaving no memorial of their exiſ-

tence but a dedication, in which all their merit is confeſſedly future, and which time has turned into a ſilent reproach.

He who has any experience of mankind, will be cautious to whom he dedicates. Publickly to beſtow praiſe on merit of which the publick is not ſenſible, or to raiſe flattering expectations which are never fulfilled, muſt ſink the character of an authour, and make him appear a cringing paraſite, or a fond enthuſiaſt.

I am under no apprehenſions of that nature, when I inſcribe this book to Paſcal Paoli. Your virtues, Sir, are univerſally ac-

knowledged; they dignify the pages which I venture to present to you; and it is my singular felicity that my book is the voucher of its dedication.

In thus addressing you, my intention is not to attempt your panegyrick. That may in some measure be collected from my imperfect labours. But I wish to express to the world, the admiration and gratitude with which you have inspired me.

This, Sir, is all the return that I can make for the many favours which you have deigned to confer upon me. I intreat you to receive it as a testimony of my disposition. I regret that

I have neither power nor intereſt to enable me to render any eſſential ſervice to you and to the brave Corſicans. I can only aſſure you of the moſt fervent wiſhes of a private gentleman. I have the honour to be, with all reſpect and affection,

SIR,

Your ever-devoted,

obliged humble ſervant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

Auchinleck,
Ayrſhire,
29 October, 1767.

PREFACE.

NO apology ſhall be made for preſenting the world with An Account of Corſica. It has been for ſome time expected from me; and I own that the ardour of publick curioſity has both encouraged and intimidated me. On my return from viſiting Corſica, I found people wherever I went, deſirous to hear what I could tell them concerning that iſland and its inhabitants. Unwilling to repeat my tale to every company, I thought it beſt to promiſe a book which ſhould ſpeak for me.

But I would not take upon me to do this, till I conſulted with the General of the nation. I therefore informed him of my deſign. His anſwer is perhaps too flattering for me to publiſh: but I muſt beg leave to give it as the licence and ſanction of this work.

Paoli was pleaſed to write to me thus; 'Non può eſſer piu generoſo il di lei diſegno di pubblicar colle ſtampe le oſſervazioni che ha fatte ſopra la Corſica. Ella ne ha veduto la fiſica ſituazione, ha potuto eſaminare i coſtumi degli abitanti, e veder dentro le maſſime del loro governo, di cui conoſce la coſtituzione. Queſti popoli con entuſiaſmo di gratitudine uniranno il loro applauſo a quello dell' Europa diſingannata. Nothing can be more generous than your deſign to publiſh the obſervations which you have made upon Corſica. You have ſeen its natural ſituation, you have been able to ſtudy the manners of its inhabitants, and to ſee intimately the maxims of their government, of which you know the conſtitution. This people with an enthuſiaſm of gratitude, will unite their applauſe with that of undeceived Europe.'

My firſt intention was to give only a view of the preſent ſtate of Corſica, together with Memoirs of its il-

illustrious General. But by the advice of some learned friends, whose judgement I respect, I enlarged my plan, and fixed on that, of the execution of which the publick is now to judge.

I had before me two French books expressly written on Corsica. The one 'Histoire de l'Isle de Corse par M. G. D. C.' printed at Nancy in 1749. The other 'Memoires Historiques &c. par M. Jaussin Ancien Apoticaire Major;' printed at Lausanne in 1758. From both of those books I derived many useful materials. The last of them contains a full and scientifick detail of the natural history of the island, as also many letters, manifestoes and other papers: And both of them contain a variety of particulars with regard to the operations of the French in Corsica. I had also before me a pretty large collection of remarks, which I had committed to writing, while I was in the island. But I still found my materials deficient in many respects. I therefore

applied to my friends abroad; and in the mean time directed my ſtudies to ſuch books as might furniſh me with any thing relative to the ſubject. I am thus enabled to lay before the world ſuch An Account of Corſica, as I flatter myſelf will give ſome ſatisfaction; for, in compariſon of the very little that has been hitherto known concerning that iſland, this book may be ſaid to contain a great deal.

It is indeed amazing that an iſland ſo conſiderable, and in which ſuch noble things have been doing, ſhould be ſo imperfectly known. Even the ſucceſſion of Chiefs has been unperceived; and becauſe we have read of Paoli being at the head of the Corſicans many years back, and Paoli ſtill appears at their head, the command has been ſuppoſed all this time in the perſon of the ſame man. Hence all our news-papers have confounded the gallant Paſcal Paoli in the vigour of manhood, with the venerable chief

his deceased Father Giacinto Paoli. May this same error has found its way into the page of the historian; For Dr. Smollet when mentioning Paoli at the siege of Furiani a few years ago, says he was then past four-score.

I would in the first place return my most humble thanks to Pascal Paoli, for the various communications with which he has been pleased to favour me; and as I have related his memorable sayings, I declare upon honour, that I have neither added to, diminished, nay so scrupulous have I been, that I would not make the smallest variation even when my friends thought it would be an improvement. I know with how much pleasure we read what is perfectly authentic.

Count Rivarola was so good as to send me full and distinct answers to a number of queries which I sent him with regard to many particulars concerning Corsica, much indebted

to him for this, and particularly ſo, from the obliging manner in which he did it.

The reverend Mr. Burnaby, chaplain to the Britiſh factory at Leghorn, made a tour to Corſica in 1766, at the ſame time with the honourable and reverend Mr. Hervey now biſhop of Cloyne. Mr. Burnaby was abſent from Leghorn when I was there, ſo I had not the pleaſure of being perſonally known to him. But he with great politeneſs, of his own accord, ſent me a copy of the Journal which he made of what he obſerved in Corſica. I had the ſatisfaction to find that we agreed in every thing which both of us had conſidered. But I found in his Journal, obſervations on ſeveral things which I had omitted; and ſeveral things which I had remarked, I found ſet in a clearer light. As Mr. Burnaby was ſo obliging as to allow me to make what uſe I pleaſed of his Journal, I have freely interwoven it into my work.

I acknowledge my obligations to my eſteemed friend John Dick Eſquire, his Britannick Majeſty's Conſul at Leghorn, to Signor Gian Quilico Caſa Bianca, to the learned Greek phyſician Signor Stefanopoli, to Colonel Buttafoco, and to the Abbé Roſtini. Theſe gentlemen have all contributed their aid in erecting my little monument to liberty.

I am alſo to thank an ingenious gentleman who has favoured me with the tranſlations of Seneca's Epigrams. I made application for this favour, in the London Chronicle; and to the honour of literature, I found her votaries very liberal. Several tranſlations were ſent, of which I took the liberty to prefer thoſe which had the ſignature of Patricius, and which were improved by another ingenious correſpondent under the ſignature of Plebeius. By a ſubſequent application I begged that Patricius would let me know to whom I was obliged for what I conſidered as a great ornament

of my book. He has complied with my request; and I beg leave in this public manner, to acknowledge that I am indebted for those translations to Thomas Day Esquire, of Berkshire, a gentleman whose situation in life is genteel, and his fortune affluent. I must add that although his verses have not only the fire of youth, but the maturity and correctness of age, Mr. Day is no more than nineteen.

Nor can I omit to express my sense of the candour and politeness with which Sir James Steuart received that remark which I have ventured to make in opposition to a passage concerning the Corsicans, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy.

I have submitted my book to the perusal of several gentlemen who honour me with their regard, and I am sensible how much it is improved by their corrections. It is therefore my duty to return thanks to the reverend Mr. Wyvill rector of black Notley in Essex, and to my old and most inti-

mate friend the reverend Mr. Temple rectour of Marshead in Devonshire. I am also obliged to My Lord Monboddo for many judicious remarks, which his thorough acquaintance with ancient learning enabled him to make. But I am principally indebted to the indulgence and friendly attention of My Lord Hailes, who under the name of Sir David Dalrymple *, has been long known to the world as an able Antiquarian, and an elegant and humourous Essayist; to whom the world has no fault but that he does not give them more of his own writings, when they value them so highly.

I would however have it understood, that although I received the corrections of my friends with deference, I have not always agreed with them. An authour should be glad to hear every candid remark. But I look upon a man as unworthy to write, who has

* It is the custom in Scotland to give the judges of the court of Sessions the title of Lords by the names of their estates. Thus Mr. Burnett is Lord Monboddo, and Sir David Dalrymple is Lord Hailes.

not force of mind to determine for himself. I mention this, that the judgement of the friends I have named may not be considered as connected with every paſſage in this book.

Writing a book I have found to be like building a houſe. A man forms a plan, and collects materials. He thinks he has enough to raiſe a large and ſtately edifice; but after he has arranged, compacted and poliſhed, his work turns out to be a very ſmall performance. The authour however like the builder, knows how much labour his work has coſt him; and therefore eſtimates it at a much higher rate than other people think it deſerves.

I have endeavoured to avoid an oſtentatious diſplay of learning. By the idle and the frivolous indeed, any appearance of learning is called pedantry. But as I do not write for ſuch readers, I pay no regard to their cenſures. Thoſe by whom I wiſh to

be judged, will, I hope, approve of my adding dignity to Corſica, by ſhewing its conſideration among the ancients, and will not be diſpleaſed to find my page ſometimes embelliſhed with a ſeaſonable quotation from the Claſſicks. The tranſlations are aſcribed to their proper authours. What are not ſo aſcribed are my own.

It may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething in defence of my orthography. Of late it has become the faſhion to render our language more neat and trim by leaving out k after c, and u in the laſt ſyllable of words which uſed to end in our. The illuſtrious Mr. Samuel Johnſon, who has alone executed in England what was the taſk of whole academies in other countries, has been careful in his Dictionary to preſerve the k as a mark of Saxon original. He has for moſt part too, been careful to preſerve the u, but he has alſo omitted it in ſeveral words. I have retained the k,

and have taken upon me to follow a general rule with regard to words ending in our. Wherever a word originally Latin has been transmitted to us through the medium of the French, I have written it with the characteristical u. An attention to this may appear trivial. But I own I am one of those who are curious in the formation of language in its various modes; and therefore wish that the affinity of English with other tongues may not be forgotten. If this work should at any future period be reprinted, I hope that care will be taken of my orthography.

He who publishes a book, affecting not to be an authour, and professing an indifference for literary fame, may possibly impose upon many people such an idea of his consequence as he wishes may be received. For my part, I should be proud to be known as an authour; and I have an ardent ambition for literary fame;

for of all poſſeſſions I ſhould imagine literary fame to be the moſt valuable. A man who has been able to furniſh a book which has been approved by the world, has eſtabliſhed himſelf as a reſpectable character in diſtant ſociety, without any danger of having that character leſſened by the obſervation of his weakneſſes. To preſerve an uniform dignity among thoſe who ſee us every day, is hardly poſſible; and to aim at it, muſt put us under the fetters of a perpetual reſtraint. The authour of an approved book may allow his natural diſpoſition an eaſy play, and yet indulge the pride of ſuperiour genius when he conſiders that by thoſe who know him only as an authour, he never ceaſes to be reſpected. Such an authour when in his hours of gloom and diſcontent, may have the conſolation to think that his writings are at that very time giving pleaſure to numbers; and ſuch an authour may cheriſh the hope of

being remembered after death, which has been a great object to the noblest minds in all ages.

Whether I may merit any portion of literary fame, the publick will judge. Whatever my ambition may be, I truſt that my confidence is not too great, nor my hopes too ſanguine.

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AN ACCOUNT OF CORSICA.

INTRODUCTION.

LIBERTY is ſo natural, and ſo dear to mankind, whether as individuals, or as members of ſociety, that it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our happineſs. Every thing worthy ariſeth from it. Liberty gives health to the mind, and enables us to enjoy the full exerciſe of our faculties. He who is in chains cannot move either eaſily or gracefully; nothing elegant or noble can be expected from thoſe, whoſe ſpirits are ſubdued by tyranny, and whoſe powers are cramped by reſtraint.

There are, indeed, who from the darkeſt prejudice, or moſt corrupt venality, would endeavour to reaſon mankind out of their original and genuine feelings, and perſuade

them to substitute artificial sentiment in place of that which is implanted by God and Nature. They would maintain, that slavery will from habit become easy, and that mankind are truly better, when under confinement and subjection to the arbitrary will of a few.

Such doctrine as this, could never have gained any ground, had it been addressed to calm reason alone. Its partisans therefore have found it necessary to address themselves to the imagination and passions; to call in the aid of enthusiasm and superstition; in some countries to instill a strange love and attachment to their sovereigns: and in others to propagate certain mystical notions, which the mind of man is wonderfully ready to receive, of a divine right to rule; as if their sovereigns had descended from heaven. This last idea has been cherished for ages, from the 'Cara Deûm soboles, The beloved offspring of the Gods,' among the Romans, to those various elevated and endearing epithets, which modern nations have thought proper to bestow upon their sovereigns.

But whatever sophisms may be devised in

favour of slavery, patience under it, can never be any thing but the effect of a sickly constitution, which creates a laziness and despondency, that puts men beyond hopes and fears; mortifying ambition, and other active qualities, which freedom begets; and instead of them, affording only a dull kind of pleasure, of being careless and insensible (*a*)."

There is no doubt, but by entering into society, mankind voluntarily give up a part of their natural rights, and bind themselves to the obedience of laws, calculated for the general good. But, we must distinguish between authority, and oppression; between laws, and capricious dictates; and keeping the original intention of government ever in view, we should take care that no more restraint be laid upon natural liberty, than what the necessities of society require.

Perhaps the limits between the power of government, and the liberty of the people, should not be too strictly marked out. Men of taste reckon that picture hard, where the outlines are so strong, as to be clearly seen. They admire a piece of painting,

(*a*) My lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, p. 69.

where the colours are delicately blended, and the tints, which point out every particular object, are ſoftened into each other, by an inſenſible gradation. So in a virtuous ſtate, there ſhould be ſuch a mutual confidence between the government and the people, that the rights of each ſhould not be expreſsly defined.

But flagrant injuſtice, on one ſide or other, is not to be concealed; and, without queſtion, it is the privilege of the ſide that is injured, to vindicate itſelf.

I have been led into theſe reflections from a conſideration of the arguments by which ingenious men in the refinement of politics have endeavoured to amuſe mankind, and turn away their attention from the plain and ſimple notions of liberty.

Liberty is indeed the parent of felicity, of every noble virtue, and even of every art and ſcience. Whatever vain attempts have been made to raiſe the generous plants under an oppreſſive climate, have only ſhewn more evidently the value of freedom.

It is therefore no wonder that the world has at all times been rouſed at the mention of liberty; and that we read with admira-

tion and a virtuous enthuſiaſm, the gallant atchievements of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the glorious cauſe; and the hiſtory of ſtates who were animated with the principle of freedom, and made it the baſis of their conſtitution.

Should any one tranſmit to poſterity the annals of an enſlaved nation, we ſhould ſleep over whole ages of the humbling detail. Every thing would be ſo poor, ſo tame, and ſo abject, that one might as well peruſe the records of a priſon-houſe.

But we have a manly ſatisfaction in reading the hiſtory of the ancient Romans; even abſtracted from their connections and their broils with other ſtates. Their internal progreſs alone affords ample matter of ſpeculation to a judicious and ſpirited obſerver of human nature. We love to trace the various ſprings of their conduct, and of their advancement in greatneſs. We contemplate with pleaſure the ferments between the patricians and plebeians, the ſtrong exertions of rude genius, the vigorous exerciſes and hardy virtues of men uncontrouled by timid ſubjection.

They who entertain an extravagant veneration for antiquity, would make us believe,

that the divine fire of liberty has been long ago exhauſted, and that any appearances of it which are to be found in modern times are but feeble and dim. They would make us believe that the world is grown old, that the ſtrength of human nature is decayed, and that we are no more to expect thoſe noble powers which dignified men in former ages.

But the truth is, that human nature is the ſame at all times, and appears in different lights merely from a difference of circumſtances. In the language of the ſchoolmen, the ſubſtance is fixed, the accidents only vary. Rome has yet the ſeven hills on which the conquerors of the world dwelt, and theſe are inhabited by Romans. Athens ſtill occupies the ſpace from whence philoſophy and genius diffuſed a radiance to all the nations around, and is poſſeſſed by Athenians. But neither of theſe people now retain any reſemblance of their illuſtrious anceſtors; this is entirely owing to the courſe of political events, which has produced a total change in their manners.

That the ſpirit of liberty has flouriſhed in modern times, we may appeal to the hiſtories of the Swiſs, and of the Dutch; and

the boldeſt proofs of it are to be found in the annals of our own country.

But a moſt diſtinguiſhed example of it actually exiſts in the iſland of Corſica. There, a brave and reſolute nation, has now for upwards of ſix and thirty years, maintained a conſtant ſtruggle againſt the oppreſſion of the republic of Genoa. Theſe valiant iſlanders were for a long time looked upon as an inconſiderable band of malecontents, as a diſorderly troop of rebels, who would ſpeedily be compelled to reſume thoſe chains which they had frowardly ſhaken off. They have however continued ſteady to their purpoſe. Providence has favoured them; and Europe now turns her eyes upon them, and with aſtoniſhment ſees them on the eve of emancipating themſelves for ever from a foreign yoke, and becoming a free and independent people.

Libertas quæ ſera tamen reſpexit——
Reſpexit tamen et longo poſt tempore venit.
VIRG. Eclog. I.

When a long age of vent'rous toil was paſt,
Celeſtial freedom bleſt their iſle at laſt.

The ſmallneſs of the Corſican ſtate does not render it leſs an object of admiration. On the contrary, we ought to admire it the

more. The ingenious Mr. Hume (a) hath ſhewn us, that Rhodes, Thebes, and many of the famous ancient ſtates were not ſo numerous as the people of Corſica now are. If the ten thouſand Greeks have gained immortal honour becauſe they were oppoſed to the armies of the Perſian monarch, Shall not the Corſicans be found deſerving of glory, who have ſet themſelves againſt a republic, which has been aided at different times by the power of France, and by that of the empire of Germany?

The Corſicans have been obliged to ſhew particular force of ſpirit. The Swiſs and the Dutch were both aſſiſted by powerful nations in the recovery of their liberties: but during the long and bloody war which Corſica has carried on, the Powers of Europe, who might be ſuppoſed friendly to her, have ſtood aloof, and ſhe has ſingle and unſupported, weathered the ſtorm, and arrived at the degree of conſequence which ſhe now holds.

To give an account of this iſland, is what I am now to attempt. The attempt is ſurely laudable; and I am perſuaded that my readers will grant me every indulgence, when

(a) Eſſay on the populouſneſs of ancient nations.

they conſider how favourable is the ſubject. They will conſider that I am the firſt Briton who has had the curioſity to viſit Corſica, and to receive ſuch information as to enable him to form a juſt idea of it; and they will readily make allowance for the enthuſiaſm of one who has been among the brave iſlanders, while their patriotic virtue is at its height, and who has felt as it were a communication of their ſpirit.

The plan which I have preſcribed to myſelf is, to give a Geographical and Phyſical deſcription of the iſland, that my readers may be made acquainted with the country which in theſe latter days has produced ſo heroic a race of patriots. To exhibit a conciſe view of the Revolutions it has undergone from the earlieſt times, which will prepare the mind, and throw light on the ſequel. To ſhew the Preſent State of Corſica; and to ſubjoin my Journal of a Tour to that iſland, in which I relate a variety of anecdotes, and treaſure up many memoirs of the illuſtrious General of the Corſicans—MEMORABILIA PAOLI.

I do moſt ſincerely declare, that I feel myſelf inferiour to the taſk. But I hope the

ſketch which I give will be of ſome immediate ſervice, and will induce others to execute a more perfect plan. I ſhall be happy if I contribute in a certain degree to give the world a juſt idea of Corſica, and to intereſt the generous in its favour; and I would adopt for this work a ſimple and beautiful inſcription on the front of the Palazzo Tolomei at Siena,

Quod potui feci; faciant meliora potentes.

I've done my beſt; let abler men do more.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Situation, Extent, Air, Soil, and Productions, of CORSICA.

CORSICA is an iſland of the Mediterranean ſea, ſituated between the 41 and 43 degree of north latitude, and between the 8 and 10 degree of eaſt longitude, reckoning from London. It hath on the north the Ligurian ſea, and gulph of Genoa. On the eaſt, the Tuſcan ſea; on the ſouth, a ſtrait of ten miles which ſeparates it from Sardinia; and on the weſt the Mediterranean. It is about 100 miles ſouth of Genoa, and 80 ſouth-weſt of Leghorn, from whence it can plainly be ſeen when the weather is clear. It is 150 miles in length, and from 40 to 50 in breadth, being broadeſt about the middle. It is reckoned 322 miles in circumference; but an exact meaſurement round it would extend to 500 miles, as it is edged with many promontories, and with a variety of bays.

Pliny the elder hath given us a ſhort, but very accurate account of the geography of Corſica; 'In Liguſtico mari eſt Corſica

'quam Graeci Cyrnon appellavere, ſed 'Thuſco proprior, a ſeptentrione in meri-'diem projecta, longa paſſuum CL millia, 'lata majore ex parte L, circuitu CCCXXII, 'civitates habet XXXIII et colonias Mari-'anam a Mario deductam, Aleriam a dic-'tatore Sylla (*a*). In the Ligurian ſea, but 'nearer to Tuſcany than to Liguria, is 'Corſica, which the Greeks called Cyrnus. 'It extendeth from north to ſouth, and is 'about 150 miles in length, for the moſt 'part 50 in breadth, and 322 in circumfe-'rence. It hath 33 ſtates and two colonies, 'Mariana founded by Marius, and Aleria 'founded by the dictator Sylla.' Of theſe 33 ſtates, not above five or ſix can now be traced; and the colonies are only to be marked by their ruins. But the uſual fidelity of Pliny is to be credited in this account. Pomponius Mela (*b*) deſcribes the ſituation of Corſica, as does Ptolemy (*c*).

Seneca the philoſopher hath left us two moſt horrid pictures of Corſica, very falſe indeed, but executed with uncommon ſtrength of fancy and expreſſion. Stoic as

(*a*) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. (*b*) Pomp. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 7. (*c*) Ptol. Geog. lib. iii. cap. 2.

he was, of a grave and ſevere demeanour, he did not eſcape the Emperour's jealouſy, but being accuſed as one of the many gallants with whom the profligate Julia had been guilty of adultery, he was baniſhed to Corſica, where he remained for ſeven years; and where in the province of Capo Corſo they ſtill ſhew an old ruin called 'Il torre di Seneca, Seneca's Tower.' Here he compoſed his books de Conſolatione to Polybius, and to his mother Helvia, with ſeveral other works; and here he indulged his fretted imagination in the following epigrams.

I.

Corſica Phocaeo tellus habitata colono,
Corſica quae Graio nomine Cyrnus eras:
Corſica Sardinia brevior, porrectior Ilva;
Corſica piſcoſis pervia fluminibus:
Corſica terribilis quum primum incanduit aeſtas;
Saevior, oſtendit quum ferus ora canis:
Parce relegatis, hoc eſt, jam parce ſepultis,
Vivorum cineri ſit tua terra levis.

O ſea-girt Corſica! whoſe rude domains,
Firſt own'd the culture of Phocaean ſwains;
Cyrnus, ſince thus the Greeks thy iſle expreſs,
Greater than Ilva, than Sardinia leſs;
O Corſica! whoſe winding rivers ſeed,
Unnumber'd as their ſands, the finny breed:
O Corſica! whoſe raging heats diſmay,
When firſt returning ſummer pours her ray;

Yet never plague thy ſcorching ſhores diſarms,
When Sirius ſheds his baneful influence:
Spare, ſpare the baniſh'd! ſpare, ſince ſuch his doom,
A wretch, who living, ſeeks in thee a tomb!
Light lay thy ſands, in pity to his pains,
Light lay thy earth upon his ſad remains.

II.

Barbara præruptis incluſa eſt Corſica ſaxis;
Horrida, deſertis undique vaſta locis.
Non poma autumnus, ſegetes non educat æſtas;
Canaque Palladio munere bruma caret;

Umbrarum nullo ver eſt lætabile ſœtu,
Nullaque in infauſto naſcitur herba ſolo:
Non panis, non hauſtus aquæ, non ultimus ignis,
Hic ſola hæc duo ſunt, exſul, et exſilium.

O! Corſica, whom rocks terrific bound,
Where nature ſpreads her wildeſt deſarts round,
In vain revolving ſeaſons cheer thy ſoil,
Nor rip'ning fruits, nor waving harveſts ſmile:
Nor blooms the olive mid the winter drear;
The votive olive to Minerva dear.
See, ſpring returning, ſpreads her milder reign!
Yet ſhoots no herb, no verdure clouths the plain.
No cooling ſprings to quench the traveller's thirſt,
From thy parch'd hills in grateful murmurs burſt;
Nor, hapleſs iſle! thy barren ſhores around,
Is wholeſome food, fair Ceres' bounty, found.
Nor ev'n the laſt ſad gift, the wretched claim,
The pile funereal, and the ſacred flame.
Nought here, alas! ſurrounding ſeas encloſe,
Nought but an exile, and an exile's woes.

He hath alſo vented his ſpleen againſt the place of his exile, in the ſame extravagant manner, in his books De Conſolatione.

But we must consider, that notwithstanding all the boasted firmness of Seneca, his mind was then clouded with melancholy, and every object around him appeared in rueful colours.

Corsica is, in reality, a most agreeable island. It had from the ancient Greeks the name of Calista, Κάλλιστη, on account of its beauty; and we may believe it was held in considerable estimation, since Callimachus places it next to his favourite Delus,

> Ἡ δ' ὄπιθεν Φοινίσσα μετ' ἴχνια Κύρνος ὀπηδεῖ
> Οὐκ ὀνοτή —— CALLIM. Hymn. in Del. l. 19.

> Next in the rank, Phoenician Cyrnus came,
> A fruitful isle, of no ignoble name.

It is charmingly situated in the Mediterranean, from whence continual breezes fan and cool it in summer, and the surrounding body of water keeps it warm in winter, so that it is one of the most temperate countries in that quarter of Europe. Its air is fresh and healthful, except in one or two places, which are moist, and where the air, especially in summer, is suffocating and sickly; but in general, the Corsicans breathe a pure atmosphere, which is also keen

enough to brace their fibres more than one would expect under ſo warm a ſun.

Corſica has indeed been pretty generally repreſented as unwholeſome, which, I ſuppoſe, has been owing to the bad report given of it by the Romans, who eſtabliſhed their colonies at Aleria and Mariana, which from their damp ſituation, occaſioned a great death among the inhabitants, and accordingly theſe colonies ſoon went to ruin. But all the interiour parts of the Iſland are extremely well aired.

Corſica is remarkably well furniſhed with good harbours, ſo that we may apply to it what Florus ſays of the Campania, 'Nihil hoſpitalius mari (*a*). Nothing more hoſpitable to the ſea.' It has on the north Centuri. On the weſt San Fiorenzo, Iſola Roſſa, Calvi, Ajaccio. On the South it has Bonifaccio. And on the eaſt Porto-Vecchio, Baſtia and Macinajo. Of each of theſe I ſhall give ſome account.

Centuri, though at preſent but a ſmall harbour, may be greatly enlarged, as its ſituation is very convenient.

(*a*) Flor. Lib. i. Cap. 16.

San Fiorenzo is an extenſive gulph. It runs about fifteen miles up into the country, and is about five miles acroſs, and many fathom deep. The gulph itſelf hath often a violent ſurge, being expoſed to the weſterly winds; but there are ſeveral creeks and bays, particularly on the ſouth ſide of it, which are quite ſecure. There is in particular, a bay under the tower of Fornali, about two miles from San Fiorenzo, which is highly eſteemed, and where veſſels of conſiderable burden may be ſafely ſtationed.

Iſola Roſſa is but a little harbour; but has a conſiderable depth of water, and is defended by a ſmall Iſland againſt the weſterly winds. They talk of erecting a mole to lock it in on every quarter. It is at preſent one of the principal ports for Commerce in the poſſeſſion of the Corſicans.

Calvi (*a*) is a large and excellent harbour. Cluverius calls it 'Celeberrimus inſulae portus (*b*), The moſt famous port of this

(*a*) Poſtlethwayt in his tranſlation of Savary's Dictionary of Trade and Commerce, has a moſt abſurd obſervation concerning Calvi; 'Its inhabitants,' ſays he, 'are called Calves.' Who told him this? What connection is there between the Engliſh word calves and the Italian word Calvi? Perhaps he intended it as wit. If ſo, how clumſy are the jeſts of this Lexicographer!

(*b*) Cluver. Corſic. Antiq.

Iſland.' The only objection I ever heard made to it, was by a French Gentleman, who told me, that the bottom of it was full of ſharp rocks, which were apt to cut the cables of ſhips which entered it. And he inſtanced one of the tranſports, which had landed ſome of the French troops in the year 1764. He however was under a miſtake: for I have been at pains to enquire very particularly concerning this, and am informed from the beſt authority, that there is nothing to fear from rocks at Calvi, and that the French tranſport which ſuffered a little there, happened to be run foul of by ſome of the reſt, which was the occaſion of what damage it ſuſtained.

Ajaccio is a wide and commodious harbour, with a good mole, and perfectly ſafe. It wants only to have a ſmall rock in front of the mole removed, which might be done at no great charge.

Corſica hath alſo in this quarter ſeveral ſmaller havens, which are uſeful for the reception of little veſſels.

Bonifaccio is an uſeful harbour, much frequented ſince the oldeſt times, and very fit for Trade.

Baſtia is not a port of the firſt conſideration, as ſhips of war cannot enter it. But it hath a mole for the convenience of ſmall veſſels, for which it is very well fitted. The iſlands of Gorgona, Capraja and Ilva, or the Elbe, are placed at no great diſtance in the ſea which rolls between the eaſt coaſt of Corſica and Tuſcany, with the Pope's dominions; ſo that ſmall veſſels can never be at a loſs for protection, ſhould any ſudden ſtorm come upon them, as they can run into any of theſe Iſlands.

Macinajo is not one of the principal harbours in Corſica, though it is very ſafe and commodious for veſſels of a light conſtruction. I mention Macinajo, becauſe it was from thence that the expedition ſet ſail againſt Capraja, as will be afterwards ſeen.

Diodorus Siculus celebrates Corſica for the excellence of its harbours, Αὕτη δὲ ἡ νῆσος εὐπρόσορμιστος οὖσα, κάλλιστον ἔχει λιμένα τὸν ὀνομάζομενον Συρακῆσιον (a). 'The iſland being of very eaſy acceſs, has a moſt beautiful port, called the Syracuſian.' This, which was antiently called the Syracuſian, has now the name of Porto Vecchio; of which it is proper to take particular notice.

(a) Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

Porto Vecchio is a ſpacious haven, capable of containing a very large fleet. It is 5 miles long, above a mile and a half broad, has a great depth of water, and a good bottom, and being land-locked on every ſide, is well ſheltered from ſtorms. I may add, that nature has placed a high and rocky mountain like a ſtately column to point it out at a great diſtance. In ſhort, Porto Vecchio may vie with the moſt diſtinguiſhed harbours in Europe.

The only objection to it, is the badneſs of its air, occaſioned by the marſhy grounds which lie in its neighbourhood. But this diſadvantage may be remedied, as has been done at Leghorn. 'The country about 'Leghorn was formerly a vile moraſs or 'rather quagmire, the noxious ſteams of 'which, rendered the air unwholeſome; 'but by the ſkill and pains of an Engliſh-'man, ſir Robert Dudley ſon to Queen 'Elizabeth's potent favourite, the Earl of 'Leiceſter, the ſoil was rendered habitable, 'the air much leſs unwholeſome, and the 'port improved, ſo as to become the beſt 'in Italy (*a*).'

From this account of the harbours of

(*a*) Preſent State of Europe, p. 411.

Corſica, it will appear of how great conſequence an alliance with this iſland might be to any of the maritime powers of Europe. For a fleet ſtationed there, might command the navigation of Genoa, Tuſcany, and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, that between Spain and Naples, and a good ſhare of that to the Levant; not to mention its influence over that of Sardinia. And it may be material to obſerve, that veſſels ſtationed in the ports of Corſica might be formidable to France, as the weſtern ſide of the iſland is directly oppoſite to the extenſive coaſt of Provence, on which a deſcent might be made with cruiſers in a very ſhort time.

The northern point of Corſica, called Capo Corſo (*b*), is about 30 miles long, very mountainous and rocky, but covered with vines and olives.

There are, in ſeveral parts of the iſland, but particularly in Capo Corſo, a great many ancient towers, built about three or four hundred years ago, to defend the inhabitants againſt the incurſions of the Turks and other pirates. There is there a little village called Tomino, ſtrong by ſituation.

(*b*) There is a place in Guinea, which has alſo the name of Capo Corſo. I know not from what. Cluver. Geog. p. 537.

The Genoeſe have made ſeveral attacks upon it during the late troubles, but were never able to carry it. The inhabitants are very deſervedly proud of this. They ſhew with particular triumph, a ſhell which the enemy threw into their village, to oblige them to ſurrender. They have placed it in a niche on the outſide of their church, to ſerve as a memorial of their deliverance, and to inſpire them with greater zeal and devotion when they go to divine worſhip.

From Tomino eaſt to Baſtia, is about 26 miles of a country much diverſified with hills, and abounding in ſprings. On the coaſt are a number of poor fiſhing towns, and a little up the country, there are ſeveral villages or hamlets prettily enough ſituated.

Baſtia has of a long time been reckoned the capital of Corſica. It was here that the Genoeſe held the ſeat of their ſovereign power: and indeed Baſtia is ſtill the largeſt town in the iſland. It has a ſtately appearance from the ſea, being built on the declivity of a hill; though upon entering the town, one is a good deal diſappointed; for the houſes are in general ill built, and the ſtreets narrow, and from the ſituation of the town, are neceſſarily very ſteep. There

are however ſeveral pretty good buildings here. It hath a caſtle, which commands the town and harbour, which, though but a ſorry fortification at preſent, is capable of being made a place of conſiderable ſtrength, as it hath a range of hills behind it, on which little redoubts might be erected; and with theſe, and a few ſubſtantial outworks towards the ſea, it might ſtand a pretty long ſiege. The caſtle is properly on a ſeparate territory, called TERRA NUOVA, the New Land, as is alſo the cathedral of Baſtia, which has nothing very remarkable. It belongs to the biſhoprick of Mariana.

The church of St. John in this city, by no means an inelegant building, belongs to the Jeſuits, who have here a college. Their garden is finely ſituated, large, and well laid out. This they owe in a great meaſure to the French, who have been ſtationed in Corſica at different times. From them the inhabitants have learned much of what they know of the arts and conveniences of life. There is here a convent of Lazariſts or miſſionaries, a vaſt and magnificent houſe, almoſt overhanging the ſea. The convent of the Franciſcans, and that of the Capuchins, are ſituated on the riſing grounds be-

hind Baſtia. The laſt ſtands in a beautiful expoſure, and has really a very pretty front.

From Baſtia ſouth to beyond Aleria, is one continued plain, between 50 and 60 miles in length, proper for raiſing all ſorts of grain, as well as for paſturage.

I ſay nothing of the ruins of Mariana and Aleria, the two Roman colonies which ſtood on this plain; for as Corſica was much diſregarded by the Romans, they did not think it worthy of having any of their taſte and magnificence employed in it. So there are no veſtiges of ancient grandeur. However, as even the dregs of the Romans could not be without ſome ſkill in the arts, ſeveral antiques, ſuch as rings, and ſeals with engravings on precious ſtones have been found here, and ſometimes pretty good ones. The ruins of an old town called Nicea, ſaid to be built by the Etruſcans, are ſtill to be ſeen on this plain, but without any thing remarkable.

Beyond Aleria the country riſes into ſmall hills, proper for vines, olives, mulberry-trees, and many of them for corn. It is traverſed by ſome ridges of mountains, upon which, not far from Porto Vecchio, are great numbers of very fine oaks, the

heft being to be found here, and at Campoloro. A rich waved country, with ſome few interruptions, reaches along the eaſt and ſouth coaſts to Bonifaccio, which is a pretty conſiderable town, well inhabited, and ſtrongly fortified; and from thence is continued to the plain of Ajaccio.

Ajaccio is the prettieſt town in Corſica. It hath many very handſome ſtreets and beautiful walks; a citadel, and a palace for the Genoeſe governor. The inhabitants of this town are the genteeleſt people in the iſland, having had a good deal of intercourſe with the French. In Ajaccio are the remains of a colony of Greeks ſettled in Corſica, of which colony a particular account ſhall be given in the next chapter.

From the plain of Ajaccio, after paſſing ſome more ridges, you advance along the weſt ſhore to the provinces of Balagna and Nebbio, which are very rich, and afford an agreeable proſpect, particularly Balagna, which may be called the garden of Corſica, being highly favoured by nature, and having alſo had in a ſuperiour degree the advantages of cultivation.

You next arrive at San Fiorenzo, which is but an inconſiderable place, and of no

great ſtrength. About a quarter of a mile to the ſouthward of the town, are ſome low marſhy grounds, which make San Fiorenzo ſo ſickly, that few people chooſe to inhabit it, and the garriſon there muſt be changed every month.

On the northern ſhore of the gulph, are two or three villages, of which the principal is Nonza. This is properly the key of Capo Corſo; becauſe from the cape into the interiour parts of the iſland on the weſtern ſide, there is only one paſs, and that leads through this place. Nonza is a little village, on a high rock, on the extreme pinnacle of which, ſome hundred fathoms above the gulph, and directly perpendicular, ſtands a tower or ſmall fortreſs, which commands the avenue to it. Nonza is literally what Cicero calls Ithaca, 'In aſperrimis ſaxulis tanquam nidulum affixam *(a)*, Stuck on the rudeſt cliffs like a little neſt.' After this, the cape begins, which finiſhes at Erſa.

I have thus reviewed the Corſican harbours, and travelled round the ſkirts of the country, along its ſhores.

Diodorus Siculus deſcribes Corſica as an extenſive iſland, very mountainous, abound-

(a) Cic. De Orat. lib. i. cap. 44.

ing in large forrests, and watered with many rivulets, Ἡ δὲ ὅλη νῆσος εὐμεγέθης ἔσα, πολλὴν τῆς χώρας ὀρεινὴν ἔχει πεπυκασμένην δρυμοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ ποταμοῖς διαῤῥεομένην μικροῖς (a).

Indeed the interiour parts of the island are in general mountainous, though interspersed with fruitful valleys; but have a peculiar grand appearance, and inspire one with the genius of the place; with that undaunted and inflexible spirit, which will not bow to oppression. As Homer says of Ithaca,

Τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος. Odyss. lib. ix. l. 27.

Strong are her sons, tho' rocky are her shores.

POPE.

The great division of Corsica, is into the DI QUA and the DI LA DEI MONTI; The country on this side, and the country on the other side of the mountains, reckoning from Bastia. By the mountains is understood, that great range of them which rises beyond Aleria, and stretches across the island, intersecting it however by no means equally; for, the country DI QUA, is a third more, than that DI LA. Another old division of this island was, to suppose a line drawn from Porto Vecchio, to the gulph of San Fiorenzo; and the division upon the east, was called

(a) Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

BANDA DI DENTRO, the ſide within; and that on the weſt, was called BANDA DI FUORI, the ſide without. I never could learn the meaning of this diviſion farther, than that, I ſuppoſe, thoſe who inhabited Baſtia and the plain of Aleria, looked upon themſelves as the moſt civilized; and ſo were for calling thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland to them 'forreſtieri, foreigners.'

The next diviſion is into provinces, of which there are nine; for although a great part of this country long went under the denomination of 'FEUDOS, feus,' and is ſtill called ſo in the maps; the juriſdiction of the ſignors is now gradually wearing out, and will ſoon be ſunk into the general power of the ſtate.

Another diviſion of Corſica is into PIEVES. A Pieve is properly an eccleſiaſtical appointment, containing a certain number of pariſhes, over which is placed a PIEVANO, who ſuperintends the prieſts, and draws a certain part of the tithes. But this diviſion is as much uſed for civil affairs, as for thoſe of the church.

There are large tracts of uninhabited land in Corſica, moſtly covered with woods; to

ſome parts of which the peaſants reſort in ſummer to feed their cattle, and to gather cheſnuts, making little ſheds for themſelves to lie under. There is hardly ſuch a thing as a detached farm-houſe to be ſeen in the iſland, like what are ſcattered every where over Great Britain; for, the Corſicans gather together in little villages, which they call by corruption 'PAESES, countries.' I remember when I was once told in Corſica, that I ſhould travel a great many miles 'Senza veder un paeſe, without ſeeing a country.' I could not conceive what they meant. The Corſicans are in greater ſafety, and have more ſociety with each other by thus living in villages; which is much the cuſtom in the cantons of Switzerland, and ſome parts of Germany; as it was anciently among all nations.

The Corſican villages are frequently built upon the very ſummits of their mountains, on craggy cliffs of ſo ſtupendious a height, that the houſes can hardly be diſtinguiſhed during the day; but at night, when the ſhepherds kindle their fires, the reflection of ſuch a variety of lights, makes theſe aerial villages have a moſt picturesque and pleaſing appearance.

In the center of the Iſland ſtands Corte, which is properly its capital, and will undoubtedly be one day a city of eminence. Here is the general's palace; and here is the ſupreme ſeat of juſtice, where the executive power conſtantly reſides, and where the legiſlature is annually aſſembled; and here alſo is the univerſity, which in time may become a diſtinguiſhed ſeat of learning, though I muſt not allow my enthuſiaſm to indulge itſelf in too eager hopes of ſeeing Corſica an Athens, as well as a Thebes.

Corte is ſituated part at the foot, and part on the declivity of a rock, in a plain ſurrounded with prodigious high mountains, and at the conflux of two rivers, the Tavignano and Reſtonica. It hath a great deal of rich country about it, and a wonderful natural ſtrength, being hemmed in by almoſt impaſſable mountains and narrow defiles, which may be defended with a handful of men, againſt very large armies.

Upon a point of the rock, prominent above the reſt, and on every ſide perpendicular, ſtands the caſtle or citadel. It is at the back of the town, and is almoſt impregnable; there being only one winding paſſage to climb up

to it, and that not capable of admitting more than two perſons abreaſt. Thuanus thus deſcribes it, 'Curiae arx ſaxo fere undique praerupto impoſita *(a)*, The caſtle of Corte placed upon a rock, broken and ragged almoſt on every ſide.' In the year 1554, it was in poſſeſſion of the French. *(b)* A Capitaine la Chambre betrayed it, for which he was afterwards hanged at Marſeilles. The ſame hiſtorian informs us, that after the Corſicans had thus got back the citadel of Corte, it ſtood a ſiege by the French general de Thermes, from Auguſt to October, and that it was a ſcarcity of water, which at laſt occaſioned its ſurrender.

In the plain, on the north of Corte, there is a convent of Capuchins, and on the ſide of the hill, to the ſouth of the City, there is a convent of Franciſcans. Here the general lived while his palace was repairing; and here all ſtrangers of reſpect are lodged. From this convent, one has the beſt view of the city of Corte.

The learned and ingenious Meſſieurs Hervey and Burnaby, when they were at

(*a*) Thuan. Hiſt. tom. 1. p. 507.
(*b*) Ibid.

There are here a vaſt number of goats, which browſe upon the wild hills, and put one in mind of Virgil's Bucolicks, where mention is ſo often made of this animal. Sheep are alſo very plentiful, and have fine feeding; ſo that their mutton is as ſweet and juicy as one could deſire, and atones for the badneſs of the beef.

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Corsica is extremely well watered. Its principal lakes, are those of Ino and Crena, about two miles from each other; both situated on the highest mountain in the island, called by the ancients Mons Aureus, and now Gradaccio or Monte Rotondo. It is of an amazing height, and may equal any of the Alps. From the top of it there is a most extensive view of all Corsica, of the seas and of Sardinia, with distant prospects of Italy and France; while the Mediterranean and many of its little isles are also under the eye. But people seldom go to take this view; for the upper part of the mountain is almost a perpendicular rock, so that a man must climb two miles with the help of his hands and

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remarkably large; of which they have not only a ſufficiency for their own conſumption, but export a great many to Italy.

From the earlieſt times, Corſica has been famous for its excellent fiſh. Juvenal, when ſatyriſing the exceſſive luxury of the Romans in his time, who brought every delicacy from the greateſt diſtance, ſays,

Mullus erit domini quem miſit Corſica.

Juv. Sat. v. l. 92.

A precious mullet from the Corſic ſeas,
Nor leſs the maſter's pamper'd taſte can pleaſe.

And ſince I am talking of the productions of the Corſican ſea, I may obſerve, that they here fiſh great quantities of coral, of all the three kinds, white, red and black. But I ſhall ſay more of this, when I come to the commerce of Corſica.

Corſica hath as great a variety of animals as moſt countries. The horſes here, are in general of a very ſmall breed. Procopius in his wars of the Goths, ſays, they run about in herds, and were little bigger than ſheep (*a*). They are, however, remarkably lively, and very hardy; ſomewhat of the nature of Welch ponies, or of the little horſes called ſhelties, which are found in the highlands and iſlands of Scot-

(*a*) Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 24.

land; though I have ſeen Corſican horſes of a very good ſize. The aſſes and mules here, are alſo ſmall, but very ſtrong and wonderfully agile in ſcrambling along the ſteep rocky mountains; for there are hardly any made roads in the Iſland. Sir Alexander Dick, whoſe publick ſpirit in promoting good roads in an improved age, is well known to all his countrymen, obſerved that this has been no loſs to the Corſicans during the time that they have been employed only in defending themſelves in a ſtate of natural freedom. Had their country been open and acceſſible, they had been eaſily ſubdued by regular troops. It was in a good meaſure owing to her rugged hills, that ancient Scotland preſerved her independency.

The black cattle are larger in proportion than the horſes, but the greateſt part of the Iſland is not very proper paſture for them; ſo in general they do not give much milk, and their beef is lean and tough. There is not ſo great occaſion for milk in Corſica, as they make no butter, oil ſupplying its place, as in Italy, and moſt warm countries. They however make a good deal of cheeſe in ſome pieves.

In the center of the Iſland ſtands Corte, which is properly its capital, and will undoubtedly be one day a city of eminence. Here is the general's palace; and here is the ſupreme ſeat of juſtice, where the executive power conſtantly reſides, and where the legiſlature is annually aſſembled; and here alſo is the univerſity, which in time may become a diſtinguiſhed ſeat of learning, though I muſt not allow my enthuſiaſm to indulge itſelf in too eager hopes of ſeeing Corſica an Athens, as well as a Thebes.

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Corsica is extremely well watered. Its principal lakes, are those of Ino and Crena, about two miles from each other; both situated on the highest mountain in the island, called by the ancients Mons Aurens, and now Gradaccio or Monte Rotondo. It is of an amazing height, and may equal any of the Alps. From the top of it there is a most extensive view of all Corsica, of the seas and of Sardinia, with distant prospects of Italy and France; while the Mediterranean and many of its little isles are also under the eye. But people seldom go to take this view; for the upper part of the mountain is almost a perpendicular rock, so that a man must climb two miles with the help of his hands and

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And ſince I am talking of the productions of the Corſican ſea, I may obſerve, that they here fiſh great quantities of coral, of all the three kinds, white, red and black. But I ſhall ſay more of this, when I come to the commerce of Corſica.

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The black cattle are larger in proportion than the horſes, but the greateſt part of the Iſland is not very proper paſture for them; ſo in general they do not give much milk, and their beef is lean and tough. There is not ſo great occaſion for milk in Corſica, as they make no butter, oil ſupplying its place, as in Italy, and moſt warm countries. They however make a good deal of cheeſe in ſome pieves.

In the center of the Iſland ſtands Corte, which is properly its capital, and will undoubtedly be one day a city of eminence. Here is the general's palace; and here is the ſupreme ſeat of juſtice, where the executive power conſtantly reſides, and where the legiſlature is annually aſſembled; and here alſo is the univerſity, which in time may become a diſtinguiſhed ſeat of learning, though I muſt not allow my enthuſiaſm to indulge itſelf in too eager hopes of ſeeing Corſica an Athens, as well as a Thebes.

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There are here a vaſt number of goats, which browſe upon the wild hills, and put one in mind of Virgil's Bucolicks, where mention is ſo often made of this animal. Sheep are alſo very plentiful, and have fine feeding; ſo that their mutton is as ſweet and juicy as one could deſire, and atones for the badneſs of the beef.

The Corſican ſheep are generally black, or of a duſky colour; a white ſheep being here and there to be met with in a flock, as black ones are amongſt our ſheep. The wool is coarſe and hairy, which the people of the country impute to their ſheep being of a mongrel race. They have had thoughts of helping this, by importing a good breed from England or Spain. But I have been told by the breeders of ſheep, that the quality of wool is not ſo much owing to the kind of ſheep, as to the nature of their paſture; for thoſe ſheep who bear very rough fleeces when upon one farm, will, when put upon another of a different ſoil, bear fleeces exceedingly fine. It is very common here, for ſheep to have more horns than two; many of them have ſix.

The forreſts of this iſland abound in deer. And there is here a curious animal, called a

Muffolè. It reſembles a ſtag, but has horns like a ram, and a ſkin uncommonly hard. It is very wild, and lives on the higheſt mountains, where it can hardly be approached; it is ſo nimble. It will jump from rock to rock, at the diſtance of many feet; and if hard chaced to the extremity of a cliff, from whence it can reach no other, it will throw itſelf over, and with ſurpriz-ing agility pitch upon its horns, without receiving any hurt. Yet when theſe creatures are taken young, they are very eaſily tamed. M. de Marbœuf, the French commander at the time I was in Corſica, had then one of them; and there are now two of them at Shugborough in Staffordſhire, the ſeat of Mr. Anſon, who has a rich aſſemblage of what is curious in nature, as well as of what is elegant in art.

The Corſican animals in general, appear'd wild to ſtrangers. Polybius gives us a reaſon for it. Δοκεῖ γὲ μὴν πάντ' εἶναι τὰ ζῶα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἄγρια διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Οὐ δύνανται κατὰ τὰς νομὰς συνακολουθεῖν οἱ ποιμένες τοῖς θρέμμασι, διὰ τὸ σύνδενδρον καὶ κρημνώδη καὶ τραχεῖαν εἶναι τὴν νῆσον (a). 'All the animals

(a) Polyb. hiſt. lib. xii.

'in the iſland appear to be wild, on this 'account, that it is ſo rude and ſteep, and 'ſo thick ſet with trees, that the ſhepherds 'are not able to follow their flocks.' The wild boar is found here in great plenty. Indeed their ſwine, which are very numerous, have all a mixture of the wild breed, and being fed on cheſtnuts, they are agreeable food.

The Corſicans are very fond of the diverſion of hunting the wild boar, for which there is here a race of dogs, particularly excellent. They have ſmooth hair, and are ſomething between a maſtiff, and a ſtrong ſhepherd's dog. They are large, and exceedingly fierce; but when once they have taken an attachment, they are very faithful to their maſter, watch him night and day, and are moſt undaunted in his defence.

Procopius (*b*) tells us, that there were in Corſica, apes wonderfully reſembling men; and indeed, this iſland, and all that quarter of Europe before it was well inhabited, muſt on account of its vicinity to Africa, have ſwarmed with apes. Of theſe, however, there are at preſent no remains, which is a proof, that different ſpecies of animals

(*b*) Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 24.

migrate from one country to another, and when their race wears out in a particular part of the globe, it may be very numerous ſomewhere elſe. Certain it is, that in many countries, the race of ſeveral animals, well known there in ancient times, is totally extinguiſhed. But I am not inclined to believe that our Creatour allows any of the various creatures which his almighty hand hath formed, to be abſolutely annihilated.

There are hares enough in Corſica, but no rabbits; though Polybius, when talking of the animals of this iſland, ſays there are rabbits, and is very minute as to their form and qualities; ſaying, that at a diſtance, one would take them to be little hares, but when they are caught, a great difference is perceived, both in their appearance and taſte. There are here no Wolves, nor any of the larger wild beaſts, unleſs foxes can be reckoned ſo, which are here indeed extremely large and ravenous. It is ſaid, they not only deſtroy ſheep, but have been known to devour even foals.

There is alſo a variety of birds in Corſica; the eagle, the vulture, wood pidgeon, turtle, thruſh, blackbird, and many of the

ſmaller ſpecies; and plenty of game, as partridges, woodcocks, ſnipes, and water-fowl in the lakes. The poor thruſhes and blackbirds too, muſt be reckoned as part of the game, for they are very numerous; and from there being a great quantity of the arbutus fruit in the iſland, they are exceedingly fat, and are eſteemed a particular delicacy. It is barbarous to deſtroy, for the mere luxury of the table, birds which make ſuch fine muſick; ſurely their melody affords more enjoyment, than what can be had from eating them. They are, however, a very common diſh in the ſouthern countries, particularly in France.

In general, it may be obſerved that this iſland is ſo privileged by nature, that there is no poiſonous animal in it. For although there are ſome ſcorpions, their bite carries no venom. The creature in Corſica, which approaches neareſt to a poiſonous animal, is a ſpider, of an extraordinary ſize. Its bite will irritate, and inflame to a great degree, and the ſwelling which it occaſions, is very alarming to one unacquainted with it; but it ſoon goes away, and no bad conſequences follow, more than from the ſtinging of our bees. This ſpider has by ſome been miſ-

taken for the famous tarantula of the kingdom of Naples.

Trees grow remarkably well in Corſica. There is here almoſt every ſort of forreſt trees, but it is principally adorned with pines of different kinds, oaks, and cheſtnut trees. All of theſe are to be found of a great ſize; ſome of the pines in particular, are exceedingly lofty, and the cheſtnut tree grows to a prodigious bigneſs.

There are extenſive forreſts in different places. That of Vico is moſt remarkable. There is in Corſica, timber ſufficient to maintain a very large fleet, and the timber here, is much harder than one would expect in ſo ſouthern a latitude, owing to the rocky ſoil of the country, to the perpetual currents of freſh air through its valleys, and to the temperature that proceeds from ſome of its mountains being half of the year in ſnow; and this is alſo one great cauſe of the ſalubrity of the climate, in which Corſica has much the advantage of Sardinia.

The Ilex, or ever-green oak, is very common here, and gives the country a chearful look even in the depth of winter. The lemon, the orange, the fig and the almon trees are alſo frequent. There are,

however, few walnut trees, and the apple, pear, plumb and cherry are not remarkably good, which is probably owing to no care being taken of them. Corſica has the pomegranate in great perfection, alſo the Indian fig and the aloe; which laſt is ſaid to flower here, as well as in the Eaſt.

The Corſican mountains are covered with the arbutus or ſtrawberry tree, which gives a rich glowing appearance as far as the eye can reach. Indeed the iſland is very like the country which Virgil deſcribes as the ſeat of rural felicity.

Glande ſues laeti redeunt, dant arbuta ſylvae:
Et varios ponit foetus autumnus et alte
Mitis in apricis coquitur vindemia ſaxis.
VIRG. Georg. lib. ii. l. 520.

On fatning maſt, the ſwine well pleas'd, are fed;
And every wood with arbutus is red.
Benignant autumn ſmiling on the fields,
All various fruits in rich abundance yields;
While ev'ry rocky mountain vines diſplays,
Whoſe grapes are mellow'd by the ſun's warm rays.

The mulberry grows well here, and is not ſo much in danger from blights and thunderſtorms as in Italy, and the ſouth of France; ſo that whenever Corſica enjoys tranquillity, it may have abundance of ſilk. We muſt not omit the laurel, to which Corſica has ſurely a very good claim. The box

tree is a very common plant here. In moſt countries it is a warriſh, and generally uſed only for hedges; but it grows to a good ſize in Corſica, and may be reckoned a timber tree. Bochart (a) has very ingeniouſly ſhewn, that the benches of the Tyrian ſhips, which according to the common tranſlation of Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. ver. 6, are ſaid to have been made of ivory brought out of the iſles of Chittim, were moſt probably made of Corſican boxwood.

Theophraſtus in his hiſtory of plants expatiates on the wonderful ſize of the Corſican trees; to which he ſays, the pines of Latium were nothing at all. He alſo ſays, the trees were immenſely thick here; his expreſſion is very ſtrong, Καὶ ὅλως πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον δασεῖαν καὶ ὥσπερ ἠγριωμένην τῇ ὕλῃ (b). 'The whole iſland ſeemed crouded and ſavage with woods.' He relates a ſtrange tradition, that the Romans, who were ſtruck with the vaſtneſs of theſe woods, built here a prodigious large ſhip, which carried no leſs than fifty ſails, but was loſt in the ocean (c). This authour gives another ancient teſtimony to the goodneſs of the climate, ſoil,

(a) Bochart Geog. Sac. pars i. lib. i. cap. 5. (b) Theophraſt. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9. (c) Ib.

and air of the iſland, Κύπρος μὲν οὖν εἴτε διὰ τὸν ἀέρα, εἴτε καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πολὺ διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων (a). 'Corſica therefore, 'whether in reſpect of its temperate cli-'mate (b), or in reſpect of its ſoil, or of 'its air, greatly excelleth other countries.'

The different kinds of grain in Corſica, are wheat, barley, rye and millet; all of which grow extremely well in ſeveral parts of the country. There are no oats here, as indeed hardly ever in any of the ſouthern countries. They give their horſes and mules barley. The millet is excellent in Corſica, and when mixed with rye, makes a wholeſome bread, of which the peaſants are very fond. Cheſtnuts may be reckoned a ſort of grain in Corſica; for they anſwer all the purpoſes of it. The Corſicans eat them when roaſted by way of bread. They even have them grinded into flour, and of that they make very good cakes.

There is a vaſt quantity of honey produced in Corſica; for the iſland has from the earlieſt times been remarkable for its ſwarms of bees. When it was ſubject to the Romans, a tribute was impoſed upon it of no

(a) Theophraſt. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 9.

(b) I follow Scaliger's interpretation of ἄνεσις. He tranſlates it Temperies.

leſs than two hundred thouſand pounds of wax yearly (*a*). Indeed the laurel, the almond tree, and the myrtle, in the flowers of which, the bees find ſo much ſweetneſs, are very common here; and the hills are all covered with wild thyme, and other fragrant herbs. Yet its honey hath always been accounted bitter, by reaſon of the box-wood and yew, as Diodorus (*b*) and Pliny (*c*) obſerve; which make Virgil's Lycidas wiſh

Sic tua Cyrnæas fugiant examina taxos.

VIRG. Eclog. ix. 30.

——— So may thy bees refuſe
The baneful juices of Cyrnæan yews.

WARTON.

and Martial write

Audet facundo qui carmina mittere Nervae,
Hyblæis apibus Corſica mella dabit.

MARTIAL. lib. ix. Epig. 27.

To tuneful Nerva, who would verſes ſend,
May Corſick honey give to Hybla's bees. DAY.

Many people think the bitterneſs which is in the Corſican honey very agreeable. The reaſon which Pliny aſſigns for the bitterneſs of the honey, he alſo aſſigns for the excellence of the wax. Having mentioned

(*a*) Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 7. (*b*) Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 295. (*c*) Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 16.

the Punick, the Pontick, and the Cretan, he ſays, 'Poſt has Corſica (cera) quoniam 'ex buxo ſit habere quandam vim medica-'minis putatur (*a*). After theſe, the Cor-'ſican wax; becauſe it is made from the 'box tree, is reckoned to have a certain 'medicinal virtue.'

There are in Corſica, a great many mines of lead, copper, iron, and ſilver. Near to San Fiorenzo is a very rich ſilver mine, yielding above the value of 5l. ſterling out of every 100 lib. weight of ore. The Corſican iron is remarkably good, having a toughneſs nearly equal to that of the prepared iron of Spain, famous over all the world. It is ſaid that the true Spaniſh barrels are made of iron which has been worn and beat for a long time in heads of nails in the ſhoes of the mules, who travel with a ſlow and inceſſant pace along the hard roads. But a very ſmall proportion of the great quantity of Spaniſh barrels, which are ſold in all parts of Europe, can have this advantage. The metal of the Corſican barrels is little inferiour to that of the generality of Spaniſh ones, and they begin to make them very well.

(*a*) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. cap. 16.

An allusion has been drawn from the iron mines, and the name of Corsica, to the character of its inhabitants. Hieronymus de Marinis, a Genoese, who writes on the dominion and government of the republick, says of this island, 'Terrae viscera ferri 'fodinis affluunt, naturae cum ipso Corsicae 'nomine in uno conspirantis praejudicio, 'Corsi enim corde sunt ferreo, adeoque ad 'sicam armaque prono (*a*). The bowels of 'the earth abound in mines of iron; na-'ture conspiring, by a sort of prejudice, to 'form a similarity between the name (*b*) of 'Corsica and the temper of the people; for 'the Corsicans have hearts of iron, and are 'therefore prone to arms and the sword.' The Marquis D'Argens (*c*) applies to Corsica these lines of Crebillon,

La nature marâtre en ces afreux climats,
Produisoit au lieu d'or du fer et des soldats.

In that rude isle, instead of golden ore,
Nature, to aid the genius of the place,
On her high hills the massy iron bore,
And bade her sons still rise a hardy race.

I may add,

And virtue springing from the iron soil.

JOHN HOME.

(*a*) Graev. Thesaur. Antiq. vol. I. p. 1410. (*b*) Corsica, Cor-sica. COR, the heart; SICA, a stiletto, heart of steel.
(*c*) Lettres Juives, let. 55.

There are alſo mines of allum, and of ſalt-petre, in ſeveral parts of Corſica.

There is here a kind of granite, extremely hard, ſome of it approaching in quality to the oriental granite, which was ſo famous at Rome, and of which ſuch noble columns are ſtill remaining, ſaid to have been brought from Egypt. I fear it would be extravagant to conjecture, that ſome of theſe columns may have been the produce of Corſica; for, beſides the perfection of the hieroglyphicks, which prove them to have been in Egypt, I queſtion if ſuch large pieces of granite could be raiſed in Corſica. There is here likewiſe porphyry, and a great variety of jaſper. The magnificent chapel of the grand duke of Tuſcany, at Florence, is finiſhed with Corſican jaſper, with which its inſide is elegantly incruſted, and has a moſt beautiful appearance.

On the borders of the lake of Ino, they find pieces of rock chryſtal, very clear, and with five ſides, as if they had been cut by a lapidary. They find ſome of it too in the mountains of Iſtria. It is ſo hard, that it ſtrikes fire; and the Corſicans frequently uſe it for flint to their fuſils.

Near to Baſtia, there is found a ſort of

mineral, called by the country people, petra quadrata, becauſe it is always found in little ſquare bits. It has much about the hardneſs of marble, has a colour like iron-ore, and weighs like lead. The Corſicans aſcribe certain myſtical virtues to this ſtone, as appears from an odd monkiſh diſtich made in its praiſe.

Petrae quadratae duro de marmore natae,
Innumeras dotes quis numerare poteſt!

Of the ſquare ſtone of marble grown,
The virtues fell, what man can tell!

From the deſcription of Corſica, which I have now given, it will appear to be a country of conſiderable importance. According to Mr. Templeman's Tables, in his New Survey of the Globe, the iſland contains 2520 ſquare miles. It hath a number of good harbours. Its air is excellent, and its productions rich and various.

I ſhall conclude this chapter with Homer's deſcription of Ithaca, which, in general, may be well applied to Corſica.

Εἰ δ' ἠ τήνδ' τε γαῖαν ἀνείρεαι· ἐδ' τι λίην
Οὔτω νώνυμός ἐστιν· ἴσασι δὲ μιν μάλα πολλοὶ,
Η μὲν ὅσοι ναίουσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
Η δ' ὅσσοι μετόπισθε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.
Η τοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ, ἱππήλατός ἐστιν,

Οὐδὲ λίην λυπρὴ, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρεῖα τέτυκται.
Ἐν μὲν γὰρ οἱ σῖτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δὲ τε οἶνος
Γίγνεται· αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει, τεθαλυῖά τε δρόσος·
Αἰγίβοτος δ' ἀγαθὴ καὶ βώτιος· ἔστι μὲν ὕλη
Παντοίη, εὖ δ' ἀρδμοὶ ἐπηετανοὶ παρίασιν.
Τῷ τοι, ξεῖν', Ἰθάκης γε καὶ ἐς Τροίην ὄνομ' ἵκει,
Τήν περ τηλοῦ φασὶν Ἀχαιΐδος ἔμμεναι αἶης.

Odyſſ. lib. xiii. l. 238.

Thou ſeeſt an iſland, not to thoſe unknown,
Whoſe hills are brighten'd by the riſing ſun,
Nor thoſe that plac'd beneath his utmoſt reign,
Behold him ſinking in the weſtern main.
The rugged ſoil allows no level ſpace,
For flying chariots, or the rapid race;
Yet, not ungrateful to the peaſant's pain,
Suffices fulneſs to the ſwelling grain.
The loaded trees their various fruits produce,
And cluſtring grapes afford a generous juice:
Woods crown our mountains, and in every grove
The bounding goats and friſking heifers rove:
Soft rains and kindly dews refreſh the field,
And riſing ſprings eternal verdure yield.
Ev'n to thoſe ſhores is Ithaca renown'd,
Where Troy's majeſtick ruins ſtrow the ground.

Para-

CHAPTER II.

A conciſe view of the REVOLUTIONS *which* CORSICA *has undergone from the earlieſt times.*

ALTHOUGH many diſtinguiſhed authours have, in conformity with the taſte of the age, rejected every inquiry into the origin of nations, and preſented their readers with nothing but what can be clearly atteſted; I confeſs, I am not for humouring an inordinate avidity for poſitive evidence. By being accuſtomed to demonſtration, or what approaches near to it, and at no time giving any credit to what we do not fully comprehend, we are apt to form a pride and inſolence of underſtanding; the mind acquires a hardneſs and obſtinacy, inconſiſtent with the true intention of our faculties in this imperfect ſtate, and is rendered unfit for the reception of many important truths.

But not to deviate into metaphyſical ſpeculation, I have always thought, that even the dark and fabulous periods are worthy of ſome attention. The ſoundeſt heads among the ancients thought ſo; and their works

are therefore more agreeable, than if they had confined themſelves to ſtrict authenticity. The origin of every nation is, as Livy ſays, 'Poeticis decora fabulis (*a*), Adorned with poetical fables.' Theſe are always amuſing to the imagination, when neither tedious, nor too extravagant. We love to be led on in a gradual progreſs, and to behold truth emerging from obſcurity, like the ſun breaking thro' the clouds. Such a progreſs makes a part of our own nature, which advances from the dawnings of being in our infancy, to greater and greater intelligence.

They, whoſe genius is directed to the ſtudy of antiquities, beſides the immediate delight which ſuch traditions afford them, are often able, from hints ſeemingly detached and unimportant, to trace the fundamental truth, and extend the bounds of reality. Few indeed have that peculiar turn for inquiry, to deſerve the name of antiquarians. But there is an univerſal principle of curioſity, with reſpect to times paſt, which makes even conjectures be received with a kind of pleaſing veneration; and although the great end of hiſtory is inſtruction, I think it is

(*a*) Liv. Prooem.

alſo valuable, when it ſerves to gratify this curioſity.

I ſhall therefore, in treating of the revolutions of Corſica, go as far back as books will ſerve me; though at the ſame time, I intend to give no more than a conciſe recital, and am rather to ſhew my readers what is to be ſeen, than to detain them till I exhibit a full view of it.

The earlieſt accounts that we have of Corſica, are to be found in Herodotus. He tells us, that its firſt inhabitants were Phenicians; for, that Cadmus, the ſon of Agenor, when wandering in queſt of Europa, fell upon this iſland, which was named Calliſta, and left there ſome of his countrymen, with his own couſin Membleareus (*a*). He tells us, that eight generations after this, Theras brought a colony to the iſland, from Lacedaemon. This Theras (*b*) was origi-

(*a*) Ησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένῃ νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρεω τοῦ Ποικίλεω, ἀνδρὸς φρονίμου. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Αγήνορος, Εὐρώπην διζήμενος, προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην· προσχόντι δὲ, εἴτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρη ἤρεσε, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, κατέλειπε γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀφεωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίαρον.

Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 147.

(*b*) Ην δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι παισὶ Αριστοδήμῳ, Ευρυσθένεϊ καὶ Προκλέϊ.

nally of the race of Cadmus, but, being uncle by the mother's side to Eurysthenes and Procles, the two sons of Aristodemus; and, on that account, having governed the kingdom as their tutor; when they grew up, and became kings of Sparta, Theras scorning to live a private life, and to be under the government of his pupils, determined not to remain at Lacedaemon, but to go and join his kindred in the island of Corsica, then called Callista. Accordingly, (c) he went thither with some chosen companions, not with any intention to drive out the former inhabitants, but, on the contrary,

Ἐόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων, ἐπιτροπεύων ἔσχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. Αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων, καὶ παραλαζόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἐπεί τε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 147.

(c) Οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, αὐτὸν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λαὸν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων, ἔστελλε συνοικίσων τούτοισι· οὐ διδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηϊεύμενος. Ἐπεί τε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἐρκτῆς ἵζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι, παρεστέωτα ὁ Θήρας ὅκως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. Συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρεω ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε. * * * * * * Τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἐπωνυμίη ἐγένετο. Ibid. et cap. 148.

with most friendly dispositions towards them.

Some time after this, the Minyae, a wandering tribe, who had taken refuge among the Lacedaemonians, having become obnoxious, on account of their aspiring views, were thrown into prison, and condemned to die; but Theras persuaded the Spartans to spare them, promising, that he would carry them out of the country; and accordingly, he carried them to the island of Callista, to join the new colony which he had settled there; and from him, the island was called Thera.

These Minyae, though but a wandering tribe among the Lacedaemonians, were, in reality, of illustrious descent, being the posterity of the heroick Argonauts (*a*).

(*a*) Τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες, ἐξελαθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος λῃσαμένων τὰς Αθηναίων γυναῖκας ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ ἐξελαθήντες ἐκ Λήμνου, οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. Ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ, πυρὴν ἐκαίον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες, ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον, πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί. Οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτέοντι ἔλεγον, ὡς εἴησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Αργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων· προσχόντας γὰρ τούτους ἐς Λῆμνον, φυτεῦσαι σφέας. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τοδεύτερον, ἠρώτεον τί θέλοντες ἥκοιέν τε ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. Οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες, ἥκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιότατον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαί τε οἰκέειν

This account of the first peopling of Corsica, is a very curious piece of ancient history. It is indeed very probable, that the Phenicians, or the Phoceans, were its original inhabitants; seeing they were the first great navigatours in the western part of the world, and sent out colonies to many distant countries.

It afterwards got the name of Κύρνος, Cyrnus, from the number of its promontories; and Isidorus (*a*) relates the manner in which it got the name of Corsica. According to him, Corsa, a Ligurian woman, having often observed a bull swim over to the island, and return much fatter, she had the curiosity to follow him in a little vessel; and so discovered the island, with all its beauty and fertility. Upon which the Ligurians sent thither a colony; and from Corsa, who had made the discovery, they called the island Corsica. This is ludicrous enough; but we may trace what has given rise to so extraordinary a fiction, when we consider, that very probably, a people from the opposite coast of Italy, either the Ligurians,

ἅμα τούτοισι, μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 145.

(*a*) Isidor. Origin. lib. 13. cap. 6.

or the Etruſcans, have taken poſſeſſion of Corſica.

Whatever may be in this conjecture, it is certain, that its next maſters were the Carthaginians, who extended their conqueſts over all the iſlands of the Mediterranean. Ariſtotle relates a moſt extraordinary piece of Punick policy, with reſpect to Corſica. Finding that it was difficult to keep the inhabitants in ſubjection, they ordered the whole of the vines and olives in the iſland to be pulled up, and forbad the Corſicans, under the pain of death, to ſow their fields with any kind of grain, ſo that they might be kept in the moſt abſolute dependance; and, though poſſeſſed of a very fertile territory, be obliged to reſort to Africa, to ſeek the bare neceſſaries of life. So early was the cowardly and barbarous policy of a trading republick exerciſed againſt this people.

Corſica next paſſed under the dominion of Rome. In the firſt Punick war, and about the 493 year from the building of the city, Lucius Cornelius Scipio conquered the iſland (*a*), being oppoſed by an army of

(*a*) Liv. Epit. lib. xvii. Flor. lib. ii. cap. 2.

Sardinians and Corſicans, headed by Hanno, a Carthaginian general.

It appears however, that the Corſicans could not bear ſubjection with patience, for they were continually attempting to get free. Of this, we have an inſtance in the epitome of the twentieth book of Livy. We next find them engaged againſt M. Pinarius the praetor, who ſlew 2000 of them, obliged them to give hoſtages, and took them bound to pay a tribute of 100000 lib. of wax, every year (*a*). Afterwards C. Cicereius the praetor, was obliged to give them battle, when 1700 of them were killed, and upwards of 1070 taken priſoners, and upon this occaſion, their annual tribute was increaſed to 200000 lib. weight of wax (*b*). From theſe inſtances, we may ſee that Corſica was formerly much more populous than it is now, and that it hath been able to furniſh amazing quantities of honey. We are told by Pliny, that Papyrius Naſo firſt triumphed over the Corſicans on the Alban mount (*c*).

(*a*) Liv. lib. xl. cap. 34. (*b*) Ib. lib. xlii. cap. 7.
(*c*) Plin. lib. v. cap. 29.

It has already been said, that the Romans founded two colonies in Corsica. The island was, like their other provinces, governed by a praetor. It was also made to serve for a place of exile; and was very proper for what they called 'Relegatio in insulam, 'banishment to an island.' But the Romans never had a firm hold of this country, where that spirit of liberty, which tyrants call rebellion, was ever breaking forth.

On the irruption of the barbarous nations, Corsica shared the same fate with the other dominions of the ruined empire. It fell a prey to the Goths, who established there the feudal system, as they did in every other country to which their arms penetrated. Some authours say, that Corsica was conquered by Alarick, the first king of the Goths; but according to Procopius, it was conquered by a detachment sent out by Totilas (*a*).

From this period, the history of Corsica is for many ages a continued series of wars, ravage and destruction, by a variety of contending powers. We are here very much in the dark, without any sufficient clew to guide us. We find in many authours detached re-

(*a*) Procop. de Bell. Goth. lib. iii. cap. 24.

marks concerning the iſland; but it is difficult to arrange them in tolerable order, ſince the dates are almoſt always uncertain.

I ſhall however give a ſhort view of what ſeems to have been the progreſs of events.

When the power of the Saracens roſe to that height, of which we read with amazement, they drove the Goths from Corſica, and maintained the dominion there for a conſiderable time.

It is believed, that they firſt gave the title of kingdom to Corſica; and, to this day, the coat armorial of the iſland bears a Moor's head on its ſhield.

There are Mooriſh coins frequently dug up in Corſica; and near to Ajaccio, are Saracen tombs, which appear to have had ſome magnificence. They are ſubterraneous vaults, ſupported by ſtone pillars; and in them are found ſepulchral urns of an earthen compoſition, ſimilar to brick.

It appears that the Pope has always had a view towards the annexing of Corſica to his territories. And, that he at different times inſtigated the kings of Arragon, as well as the ſovereigns of France, to make againſt it, what in the ſtile of thoſe times was called a

holy war, which kind of wars were always calculated to ſerve the political views of the holy father.

At laſt, Corſica was actually conquered by one of the kings of France; ſome ſay, by Pepin, and others, by Charles Martel. The Corſicans ſhew to this day, a fountain, called by the name of Charles, in the pieve of Aleſani, and, as they ſay, on the ſpot where this gallant prince vanquiſhed the Moors.

By the kings of France, Corſica was reſigned, in a perpetual gift, to the holy ſee. The Saracens however, from time to time returned; ſo that the pope had but a very feeble and uncertain ſway.

The Genoeſe availing themſelves of the diſtracted ſtate of the iſland, had very early contrived to ſettle a colony at Bonifaccio; and emboldened by degrees, they landed troops on other parts of the country, and began to bear a formidable appearance.

This could not fail to incenſe the court of Rome, and to draw down upon them the thunders of the Vatican, from whence the holy father uſed, in thoſe ages, to fulminate with ſerious effect againſt the greateſt powers in Europe. Accordingly, the Genoeſe

were excommunicated by pope Gregory the ſeventh, which made them at that time deſiſt from their project.

In this fluctuating ſituation Corſica continued, till one of the popes, but which of them, hiſtorians are not agreed, ſent thither Hugo Colonna, a nobleman of Rome, accompanied by ſeveral others of the Roman nobility, with a good force under his command, in order to expel the infidels from the iſland. When Colonna landed, he was joined by many of the inhabitants, who (during the ſtruggle which had been ſubſiſting ſo long, and with ſuch violence,) had again and again endeavoured to maintain themſelves in a ſtate of freedom, and had elected a certain number of chiefs, to whom they gave the title of caporali.

Theſe caporali gave all the aid in their power to Colonna; and, by their influence over the people, they ſoon brought together ſuch a body of men, that Colonna was enabled totally to rout the Saracens, and to diſpoſſeſs them for ever.

The Moors being rendered deſperate by this unexpected blow, were forced to quit the iſland; but before they went, they burnt all that they poſſibly could; and to this we

must greatly impute the desolation which is yet to be seen in Corsica, and the destruction of their ancient monuments and publick archives.

Hugo Colonna settled in Corsica, having obtained from the Pope, distinguished honours and extensive grants. The family of Colonna is one of the most illustrious, and most ancient in the world. So early as An. 1200, mention is made of Pietro Colonna, the eighth of the name. The branch which settled in Corsica, continued long in great splendour, enjoying the noble fief of Istria; but, by the confusions and troubles which the island has been thrown into, by the bloody contests between the Genoese and the patriotick Corsicans, that family hath suffered prodigiously, and its possessions are reduced to a very narrow compass. The present head of the family, is a worthy, sensible man, and very zealous in the great cause. I was lodged in his house at Sollacaro, where I found Pascal Paoli.

It is probable, that the Corsican counts, marquisses and barons, derive their origin from this period; for I can see no time so proper for their first taking place here.

The iſland remained for ſome time in tolerable quiet. But, partly from the diſſenſions of different parties among themſelves, ever impatient of contradiction, and partly from the repeated attacks of the Genoeſe, whoſe hankering after this little kingdom ſtill continued, there were ſuch diſorders, and ſuch a defect of good government, that the Pope thought proper to make it over to the Piſans, who were then in great power.

This grant was upon advantageous terms for the holy father, like the many grants of fiefs which he uſed to give to various princes, to be held of the ſee of Rome. A learned Profeſſour of the univerſity of Piſa, has compoſed a very curious diſſertation concerning the ancient dominion of his countrymen over Corſica. It is to be found in the VII. volume of the Eſſays of the Academy of Cortona.

The Piſans, while their republick flouriſhed, and their force was conſiderable, maintained their authority over Corſica to very good purpoſe; and, as far as we can gather from different authours, the iſland enjoyed more repoſe and tranquillity during this period, than it has ever been known to enjoy.

But this calm was of ſhort duration; for

the Genoeſe, irritated to find themſelves now effectually excluded from an iſland on which they had long ſet their hearts; and being likewiſe the determined rivals of Piſa, a keen and obſtinate war was carried on between theſe ſtates; at laſt, the Genoeſe prevailed, in the famous ſea-fight at Malora, near the mouth of the Arno; after which, they got entirely the maſtery of Piſa, and ſo were at length enabled to ſeize upon Corſica, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Thus were the Corſicans, for the firſt time, brought under the power of the Genoeſe; with whom they have ſince had ſuch ſtruggles for that freedom, which they appear to have at all times attempted to recover.

If I have erred in any part of this recital, I am ſure it is without any intention. I know ſome Genoeſe writers have maintained, that a ſignor Ademar, of their nation, was employed in the firſt conqueſt of the iſland by the kings of France. I confeſs I do not ſee ſufficient authority for this. But ſuppoſing it had been ſo, Ademar could only be an officer under the French king. We are certain, that the French king made the

conqueſt, becauſe he afterwards made a gift of the iſland to the pope.

But I would not dwell long upon ſuch diſquiſitions. There are many pieces lately publiſhed, both by the Corſicans and the Genoeſe; in which the authours, with great labour, endeavour to refute each others hypotheſes with regard to many ancient facts in the hiſtory of Corſica. Here indeed, there is full ſcope for all parties; ſince thoſe periods are ſo obſcure, that every writer may fill them up according to the turn of his imagination. Juſt as people who are abroad in a dark night, may with equal keenneſs, and equal appearance of reaſon affirm, that they ſee objects totally different.

Let Corſica have been the property of the Phenicians, the Etruſcans, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, the Saracens: let it have been a conqueſt of France; a gift from that kingdom to the pope; a gift again from the pope to the Piſans, and at length a conqueſt of Genoa; ſtill we muſt have recourſe to the plain and fundamental principle, that the Corſicans are men, and have a right to liberty; which, if uſurped by any power whatever, they have at all times a juſt title to vindicate.

In reviewing theſe ſtrange and rapid revolutions, which this iſland has undergone, we may join with Seneca *(a)* in reflecting on the mutability of human affairs, and be ſilent on the changes which happen to individuals, when we contemplate the viciſſitudes of a whole nation.

The Genoeſe having obtained the undoubted poſſeſſion of Corſica, they were eager to enjoy their power, and thought they could not fully enjoy it, but by exerciſing the moſt ſevere dominion. What we have long anxiouſly deſired, acquires in our minds an imaginary and extravagant value; and when we actually become poſſeſſed of it, a moderate and reaſonable fruition, ſeems inſipid and unſatisfactory to our heightned expectations. We are even, as it were, uncertain if we really have it. And generally, we never reſt, till by abuſing our powers, we deſtroy what we eſteemed ſo highly.

An individual, who acquires a large fortune, and a ſtate, which acquires an increaſe of dominion, may be very properly compared. He who gets a large fortune, thinks

(a) Seneca de conſolatione.

he cannot ſhew his command of riches, but by ſuch acts of profuſion, as muſt quickly diſſipate them. And a ſtate, which has acquired an increaſe of dominion, thinks its ſovereignty is not ſufficiently manifeſted, but by ſuch acts of arbitrary oppreſſion, as muſt tend to force its ſubjects to throw off their allegiance. For however a people may, from indolence, from timidity, or from other motives, ſubmit for a ſeaſon to a certain degree of tyranny; if it is long continued, and puſhed to an exorbitant length, nature will revolt, and the original rights of men will call for redreſs.

The Genoeſe were the worſt nation to whom Corſica could have fallen. The Corſicans were a people impetuous, violent and brave; who had weathered many a ſtorm; and who could not have been governed, but by a ſtate of which they ſtood ſomewhat in awe, and which, by humanity and proper encouragement, might have conciliated their affections. Whereas, the Genoeſe were a nation of republicans juſt in the neighbourhood of the iſlanders; who had long been their enemies; who had made ſo many cunning, and impotent attempts to ſeize upon the iſland; that although, by

by the unexpected courſe of events, they were now maſters of it, the Corſicans could not look upon them with any reſpect. And as it has been always remarked that the foreign ſubjects of a little republick, are much worſe uſed, than thoſe of a great kingdom; they had reaſon to expect nothing but avowed tyranny from Genoa.

Accordingly the Genoeſe, who were themſelves in an unſtable, and perilous condition, ſeeking the protection ſometimes of one powerful ſtate, and ſometimes of another; did not treat the Corſicans with that gentleneſs and confidence, which alone could have ſecured their attachment and obedience; by inſenſibly leading them to a participation of the culture and felicity of civil life, and accuſtoming them to conſider the Genoeſe as their fellow ſubjects, and friends.

They took a direct contrary courſe; and, although they did not uſe ſo deſperate a meaſure, as that of the Carthaginians, their oppreſſion was heavy; their ſyſtem was not to render the Corſicans happier and better, but by keeping them in ignorance, and under the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, to prevent their endeavouring to get free; while Genoa

drained the iſland of all ſhe could poſſibly get; chooſing rather even to have leſs advantage by tyranny, than to have a much greater advantage, and riſque the conſequences of permitting the inhabitants to enjoy the bleſſings of freedom.

In this unhappy ſituation was Corſica. Often did the natives riſe in arms; but having no head to direct them, they were immediately quelled. So apprehenſive of a revolt however were the Genoeſe, that, according to their own hiſtorian Filippini, they burnt 120 of the beſt villages in Corſica, while 4000 people left the iſland.

What ſhewed the Genoeſe policy in the worſt light, and could not but be very galling to the Corſicans who remained at home, was, that many of theſe iſlanders, who had gone over to the continent, made a diſtinguiſhed figure in moſt of the European ſtates, both in learning, and in arms.

About An. 1550, Corſica revived under the conduct of a great hero, who aroſe for the deliverance of his country. This was Sampiero di Baſtelica. He early diſcovered extraordinary parts and ſpirit; and had the advantage of being educated in the houſe of car-

dinal Hypolitus de Medicis, the nephew of pope Clement the ſeventh. He was created colonel of the Corſicans in France, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in almoſt every one of the great actions of that nation in his time.

After the death of Francis the firſt, he went home to his native country; where he married Vannina, heireſs of the houſe of Ornano, of the moſt ancient and rich of the Corſican nobility; and from this time, he was generally called Sampiero di Ornano.

Being moved with the miſerable ſtate of his countrymen, he reſolved to procure them relief; and for this, a very favourable opportunity then preſented itſelf.

Here hiſtory begins again to open upon us. The clouds of antiquity, and barbariſm are diſperſed, and we proceed clearly, under the guidance of the illuſtrious Thuanus (a).

France had long claimed a right over Genoa; but after the battle of Pavia, when the French were forced entirely to abandon Italy, that claim had become of no effect. Henry the ſecond however, having commenced a new war in Italy, againſt the emperour Charles the fifth, reſolved to aſ-

(a) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. xii. cap. 2.

ſert his power in Corſica; Sampiero di Ornano encouraged this diſpoſition, that he might avail himſelf of it, to free the iſland from a yoke which galled it ſo much.

He repreſented to Henry, that as the Genoeſe had taken part with the emperour, his majeſty was debarred from all entrance to Italy by ſea; whereas, by putting himſelf in poſſeſſion of Corſica, he might have a free paſſage through the Mediterranean, and might, at the ſame time, employ that iſland as a commodious garriſon, where troops and warlike ſtores might be lodged, to be from thence thrown in upon Naples or Tuſcany, as the ſituation of affairs ſhould require.

An expedition was therefore ordered to Corſica, in the year 1553, under the command of general Paul de Thermes, accompanied by Sampiero di Ornano, Jourdain des Urſins, and ſeveral other able commanders. Henry had alſo the Turks joined with him in this expedition, having prevailed with their emperour, Solyman, ſtyled the magnificent, to ſend out a large fleet to the Tuſcan ſea *(a)*.

This expedition was powerfully oppoſed

(a) Knolles's hiſtory of the Turks, p. 757.

by the Genoeſe, who had given Corſica in charge to their celebrated bank of St. George. The great Andrew Doria, though then in his eighty-ſeventh year, bid defiance to age and infirmities, and, ſince Corſica was an object of importance to his country, the gallant Veteran embarked with all the ſpirit of his glorious youth, having a formidable armament under his command.

The war was carried on with vigour on both ſides. At firſt however, ſeveral of the beſt towns were taken by the French and Turks, particularly Ajaccio, where were a number of merchants, whoſe riches afforded good pillage to the enemy, and helped to make the enterpriſe go on with more ſpirit. The Corſicans joined in the common cauſe, and the greateſt part of the iſland was once fairly delivered from the tyrant.

But the Genoeſe were ſo well commanded by the intrepid Doria, and had beſides ſuch aſſiſtance from Charles the fifth, who ſent ſtrong reinforcements, both of Spaniſh and German troops, that the expedition was not entirely effectual.

In the courſe of this war, ſo many valourous actions were performed, that, fired with the contemplation of them, I am almoſt

tempted to forget the limited bounds of my plan, and of my abilities, and to assume the province of an historian; I hope a Livy, or a Clarendon, will one day arise, and display to succeeding ages, the Corsican bravery, with the lustre which it deserves.

The Corsicans were now so violent against the Genoese, that they resolved with one accord, that rather than return under the dominion of the republick, they would throw themselves into the arms of the great Turk. At length however, a treaty was concluded between the Corsicans and Genoese, advantageous and honourable for the former, having for guarantee, his most Christian Majesty.

But, as there was an inveterate, and implacable hatred between those two nations, this treaty did not long subsist; and upon Henry's death, the same oppression as formerly, became flagrant in Corsica.

Sampiero di Ornano, who had been again for some time in France, having lost his royal master, went himself to the Ottoman Porte, and earnestly sollicited fresh assistance to his unhappy nation. But the face of affairs was changed. The same political views no longer existed; and it must be a miracle indeed, when states are moved by virtuous

principles of generosity. This brave man, being unsuccessful at Constantinople, returned to Corsica, where his presence inspired the islanders with fortitude, and occasioned a very general revolt.

He carried on his glorious enterprise with considerable effect; and the more so, that, as he had now no foreign assistance, he was not looked upon as very formidable, and the republick made little preparation against him. But he was stopped in his career by the treachery of the Genoese, who had him basely assassinated, by a wretch of the name of Vitolli *(a)* in the year 1567.

Thus fell Sampiero di Bastelica di Ornano, a Corsican worthy of being ranked with the most distinguished heroes. He displayed great bravery and fidelity in foreign service; and with unremitting constancy endeavoured to restore the liberties of his country. Thu-

(a) Michael Metello, who writes a particular history of the Corsican revolt under Sampiero, gives a different account of his death. He will have him to have been killed from motives of private revenge, by his brother-in-law, Michael Angelo di Ornano. But, besides the improbability that Vannina, the spouse of Sampiero, had a brother, when it is certain she inherited the family domains; I own, that the assassination, as related by several other authours, appears to me so much of a piece with the oppressions of Genoa, both before and since, that I give it the preference.

anus calls him 'Vir bello impiger et animo invictus (a). A man active in war, and of a ſpirit invincible.' The ſhades which were in his private conduct, are to be forgotten in the admiration of his publick virtues. His ſon Alphonſo, and his grandſon John Baptiſt, both arrived at the dignity of mareſchal of France, after which his poſterity failed.

Alphonſo di Ornano, who had been brought up in the court of Henry the ſecond, kept alive the patriotick ſtruggle for a ſhort while; but unable to make head againſt the republick, he retired from the iſland and ſettled in France.

The Genoeſe were thus again put in poſſeſſion of Corſica. Enraged at what they had ſuffered from a daring rebellion, as they termed it; and ſtill dreading a new inſurrection, they thought only of avenging themſelves on the Corſicans; and plunging that people ſtill lower than ever, in ignorance and ſlavery.

Their oppreſſion became now, if poſſible, worſe than before. They were inflamed with hotter reſentment, and their tyranny formed itſelf into ſomething of a regular

(a) Thuani Hiſt. lib. xli. cap. 31.

ſyſtem. Forgetful of every equitable convention that France had eſtabliſhed, they exerciſed, without controul, the utmoſt rigours of arbitrary power. They permitted nothing to be exported from the iſland, but to Genoa, where, of neceſſity, the Corſicans were obliged to ſell their merchandiſe at a very low rate; and in years of ſcarcity, the iſland was drained of proviſions by a ſort of legal plunder. For the inhabitants were forced to bring them to Genoa, ſo that actual famine was often occaſioned in Corſica.

The Genoeſe did every thing in their power to foment internal diſſenſions in Corſica, to which the people were naturally too much inclined. Theſe diſſentions occaſioned the moſt horrid bloodſhed. They reckon that no leſs than 1700 Corſicans were aſſaſſinated in the ſpace of two years. Aſſaſſinations were, in the firſt place, a certain cauſe of hatred among the Corſicans, and often between the beſt families, ſo that they would not unite in any ſcheme for the general liberty. And in the ſecond place, they could be turned to very good account, either by confiſcating the eſtates of the aſſaſſins, or by making the criminals pay

he cannot ſhew his command of riches, but by ſuch acts of profuſion, as muſt quickly diſſipate them. And a ſtate, which has acquired an increaſe of dominion, thinks its ſovereignty is not ſufficiently manifeſted, but by ſuch acts of arbitrary oppreſſion, as muſt tend to force its ſubjects to throw off their allegiance. For however a people may, from indolence, from timidity, or from other motives, ſubmit for a ſeaſon to a certain degree of tyranny; if it is long continued, and puſhed to an exorbitant length, nature will revolt, and the original rights of men will call for redreſs.

The Genoeſe were the worſt nation to whom Corſica could have fallen. The Corſicans were a people impetuous, violent and brave; who had weathered many a ſtorm; and who could not have been governed, but by a ſtate of which they ſtood ſomewhat in awe, and which, by humanity and proper encouragement, might have conciliated their affections. Whereas, the Genoeſe were a nation of republicans juſt in the neighbourhood of the iſlanders; who had long been their enemies; who had made ſo many cunning, and impotent attempts to ſeize upon the iſland; that although, by

by the unexpected courſe of events, they were now maſters of it, the Corſicans could not look upon them with any reſpect. And as it has been always remarked that the foreign ſubjects of a little republick, are much worſe uſed, than thoſe of a great kingdom; they had reaſon to expect nothing but avowed tyranny from Genoa.

Accordingly the Genoeſe, who were themſelves in an unſtable, and perilous condition, ſeeking the protection ſometimes of one powerful ſtate, and ſometimes of another; did not treat the Corſicans with that gentleneſs and confidence, which alone could have ſecured their attachment and obedience; by inſenſibly leading them to a participation of the culture and felicity of civil life, and accuſtoming them to conſider the Genoeſe as their fellow ſubjects, and friends.

They took a direct contrary courſe; and, although they did not uſe ſo deſperate a meaſure, as that of the Carthaginians, their oppreſſion was heavy; their ſyſtem was not to render the Corſicans happier and better, but by keeping them in ignorance, and under the moſt abject ſubmiſſion, to prevent their endeavouring to get free; while Genoa

perpetual quiet. Theſe propoſals are preſerved by M. Jauffin (*a*); and they are ſuch, as any ſtate ſhould be aſhamed of. Amongſt many other barbarous ſchemes, one was, to tranſport a conſiderable number of the inhabitants, and make them over to the king of France, to people his diſtant colonies. Could there be a more harſh, or a more abſurd meaſure, than this? Jauffin is much on the ſide of Genoa, and through the whole of his two volumes, does not ſeem to have felt one ſpark of true liberty, or at all to have entered into the ſpirit of what the Corſicans were fighting for; yet when he recites this propoſal, he cannot help ſaying, 'Il ſembloit par là qu'ils 'auroient été contens d'etre ſoverains des 'ſeuls rochers de Corſe ſans ſujets (*b*). 'It would thence appear, that the Genoeſe 'would have been ſatisfied to be ſovereigns 'of the bare rocks of Corſica, without 'ſubjects.'

France being engaged with more important objects than Corſica, or any thing concerning the Genoeſe, was no longer at leiſure to employ her attention on that iſland.

(*a*) Jauffin, tom. 1. p. 469.

(*b*) Ib. p. 481.

All Europe being now in agitation, ſhe thought proper to recall her troops from Corſica. They accordingly quitted the iſland, in the end of the year 1741, leaving it in perfect ſubmiſſion and quietneſs; as was ſaid of the Romans by Galgacus, the ancient Scottiſh chief, in his famous ſpeech, upon the Grampian mountains; 'Ubi ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant (*a*). Where they make a deſart, they call it peace.'

The French, indeed, knew the Corſicans too well, to believe, that they would ſubmit to Genoa, when left to themſelves. The event happened accordingly; for the French were hardly gone, before the Corſicans were again as much in motion as ever. Several of their countrymen, who were ſettled in different towns in Italy, furniſhed them with arms; and, as they had formerly done, they took a good many arms from the Genoeſe. From having been long depreſſed, like a ſtrong bow recovering its elaſticity, they roſe with renewed vigour. Man, woman and child, may be ſaid to have engaged; for very young boys took the field; and even ſome of their women, like thoſe

(*a*) Tacit. de vit. Agric. cap. 30.

of Sparta, shewed their valour in battle. Many of the religious also carried arms; and, as if actuated by a kind of universal inspiration, every soul was ardent against the tyrant.

Gaffori and Matra, now obtained the government of Corsica, under the title of protectours of the kingdom. Gaffori was a man of distinguished talents. His eloquence was most remarkable; and the Corsicans still talk with admiration of his harangues to them. He heard once, that a band of assassins were coming against him. He went out, and met them with a serene dignity, which astonished them. He begged they would only hear him a little; and he gave them so pathetick a picture of the distresses of Corsica, and roused their spirits to such a degree against those, who caused the oppression, that the assassins threw themselves at his feet, intreated his forgiveness, and instantly joined his banners.

The Genoese being in possession of the castle of Corte, it was besieged with great vigour by the Corsicans, commanded by Gaffori. By a strange want of thought, the nurse, who took care of Gaffori's eldest son, then an infant, wandered away, in a

little distance from the camp. The Genoese perceived it, and making a sudden sally, they got hold of the nurse and the child, and carried them into the castle. The General shewed a decent concern at this unhappy accident, which struck a damp into the whole army. The Genoese thought they could have Gaffori upon their own terms, since they were possessed of so dear a pledge. When he advanced to make some cannon play, they held up his son, directly over that part of the wall, against which his artillery was levelled. The Corsicans stopt, and began to draw back, but Gaffori, with the resolution of a Roman, stood at their head, and ordered them to continue the fire. Luckily, his firmness was not broken by losing his child, who escaped unhurt. I had the pleasure of knowing the young gentleman, who inherits his father's estate. He related to me himself, from the the best authority, this story, which does so much honour to his father. I had it also vouched, by such as had no particular interest in it.

Matra, the other general or protector, was always suspected, as secretly favouring the views of Genoa, and was rather a promoter of division, than a patron of liberty.

Indeed, the great misfortune of the Corsicans, was their want of union; which made particular animosities take up their attention, and divert their zeal from the great cause.

In 1745, Count Domenico Rivarola, arrived at Bastia, along with some English ships of war. Great Britain had forbidden her subjects to give any assistance to the Corsicans; but, by the changeful schemes of political connections, she consented to send some ships against the Genoese; not, as from herself, but, as complying with the request of her ally, the king of Sardinia, who had taken the cause of Corsica much to heart. These ships bombarded Bastia, and San Fiorenzo, both of which they delivered into the hands of the Corsicans. The force of the British men of war, and the great service done by us to their cause, are never forgotten, by the brave islanders.

Count Rivarola, was proclaimed generalissimo of the kingdom. Gaffori and Matra, were not present at this election, and did every thing in their power to oppose it; so that there was nothing but heart-burnings and miserable dissensions; and the British went away with an idea of this people, as if they had been a parcel of half-barbarians.

As our information with regard to Corsica has been very imperfect, those unhappy impressions have continued ever since, and have had too much influence in Great Britain.

Rivarola, Gaffori and Matra, having at length come to a tolerable agreement, matters went on a little better, though the Genoese were not long in recovering Bastia and San Fiorenzo.

In 1746, the Corsicans sent two envoys with proposals to the Earl of Bristol, then his Britannick Majesty's ambassador, at the court of Turin. The intention of these proposals was, that Corsica should put herself entirely under the protection of Great Britain. The envoys waited at Turin, till My Lord Bristol had a return from the ministry at London, signifying their satisfaction at what had been communicated, hoping the Corsicans would preserve the same obliging sentiments, but that it was not then the time to enter into any treaty with them.

Count Domenico Rivarola, finding that he could be of most service to his country, when at a distance, returned to Turin, where he constantly improved the benevolent intentions of his Sardinian Majesty towards Corsica. He died with the rank of

colonel, in April 1748, and left behind him the character of an honeſt man, and a gallant patriot.

In the ſame month and year, the Britiſh ſhip, the Naſſau, commanded by captain Holcomb, together with ſome tranſports, carried over to Corſica, two battallions, one of the king of Sardinia's troops, and one of Auſtrians, in order to aid the Corſicans; but the general peace being concluded, at Aix la Chapelle, no foreign ſtates could any longer interfere, and the Corſicans and Genoeſe, were again left to themſelves.

My Lord Hailes has, among his valuable collection of hiſtorical manuſcripts, two pieces relating to Corſica. The one entitled, Information de l'état dans lequel ſe trouve preſentement la Corſe, et de ce qu'il faudroit pour la delivrer de l'eſclavage du gouvernement Genois, traduit de l'Italien, is written by Count Domenico Rivarola. The other, is an account of the ſtate of Corſica, in the original Italian; drawn up by one, who appears to have been well acquainted with the ſubject. Both of theſe papers ſet forth, the advantages to be derived to a maritime power, from an alliance with Corſica. They were communicated by M. Carret de

Corregna, the Sardinian minister, to General Wentworth, the British ambassadour, at the court of Turin; and, I believe, they had considerable influence in procuring the interposition of Sardinia and Great Britain, in favour of the Corsicans.

Matra, in the end of the year 1748, went into the service of Piedmont, and left Gaffori sole general of the island. A repetition of the same desperate actions continued, till on the 3d of October, 1753, Gaffori was assassinated by a band of murderers, set on by the republick. At least, it is a fact that some of these wretches have still a miserable pension to support them, in the territory of Genoa. There is a pillar of infamy erected at Corte, on the place, where stood the house of the principal actor in this bloody villainy. The house was burnt, and razed from the foundation.

The Corsicans, from their family connections, and violent parties, differ in their accounts of Gaffori. Some of them would have it believed, that he was too much engrossed by selfish views, and in order to promote his own interest, endeavoured to bring about unworthy schemes of reconci-

liation with Genoa. But, beſides the reluctance which every generous mind muſt feel to give credit to injurious reports of a hero, whoſe greatneſs of ſoul ſhone forth, in the manner I have related, what I heard of Gaffori from thoſe, in whoſe judgment and impartiality I could confide, joined with the regard with which he is had in remembrance by the majority of his countrymen, determine me to a perſuaſion of the reality of his virtues.

The adminiſtratours of the iſland had been ſo well inſtituted by General Gaffori, that Corſica was able to continue for two years without any chief; while the war was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs.

The patriots did not however, ſwear a ſolemn oath, that, rather than ſubmit to the republick, they would throw themſelves into the fire, like the Saguntines of old. This oath, which is conceived in terms of ſtrength and violence, not unlike the Corſican ſtile, but ſomewhat exaggerated, was circulated over Europe, and generally believed to be genuine. Doctor Smollet, who diſplays a generous warmth in favour of the Corſicans, hath given this oath a place in

his history (a); but Paoli assures me, that it was a fiction.

I come now, to a remarkable event in the annals of Corsica, an event, from which the happiness and glory of that island will principally be dated. I mean, the election of Pascal Paoli, to be general of the kingdom.

Pascal Paoli *, was second son to the old chief Giacinto Paoli. He had been educated with great care by his father, who formed his taste for letters, and inspired him with every worthy and noble sentiment. He was born in Corsica, where he remained long enough, to contract a love and attachment to his country, and to feel the oppression under which it groaned.

When the patriots were totally crushed by the marquis de Maillebois, his father took young Paoli to Naples, where he had the advantage of attending the academy, got a

(a) Smoll. hist. vol. 16. p. 384.

* His name, in Italian, is Pasquale de' Paoli. I write Pascal, as more agreeable to an English ear. I also avoid giving him any title. I owe this thought to My Lord Hailes. When I asked him, Whether I should call Paoli, Signor, or General? his answer was, 'Signor is better than General, but plain Pascal is better than either. You do not say, 'King Alexander, but Alexander of Macedon; no title adds 'to the dignity of Judas Maccabeus.'

commiſſion as an officer in that ſervice, and was much about court.

Here he lived twelve or thirteen years, cultivating the great powers with which nature had endowed him, and laying the foundation of thoſe grand deſigns, which he had early formed, for the deliverance of his country.

His reputation became ſo great among the Corſicans, that he received the ſtrongeſt invitations to come over and take the command. He embarked in the glorious enterpriſe, ſtimulated by generous ambition, and undiſmayed by a conſideration of the dangers, the cares, and the uncertainty which he was about to encounter.

There was ſomething particularly affecting, in his parting from his father; the old man, hoary and gray with years, fell on his neck, and kiſſed him, gave him his bleſſing, and with a broken feeble voice, encouraged him in the undertaking, on which he was entering; 'My ſon,' ſaid he, 'I may, poſ-'ſibly, never ſee you more; but in my 'mind, I ſhall ever be preſent with you. 'Your deſign is a great, and a noble one; 'and I doubt not, but GOD will bleſs you 'in it. The little which remains to me of

'life, I will allot to your cauſe, in offering 'up my prayers and ſupplications to hea- 'ven, for your protection and proſperity.' Having again embraced him, they parted.

Paſcal Paoli no ſooner appeared in the iſland, than he attracted the attention of every body. His carriage and deportment prejudiced them in his favour, and his ſuperiour judgment, and patriotick ſpirit, diſplayed with all the force of eloquence, charmed their underſtandings. All this, heightened with condeſcenſion, affability and modeſty, entirely won him their hearts. A way was open for him to the ſupreme command, and he was called to it by the unanimous voice of his countrymen; upon which occaſion, was iſſued the following manifeſto.

The Supreme, and General Council of the Kingdom of CORSICA, *to the Beloved people of that* NATION.

BELOVED PEOPLE AND COUNTRYMEN,

'THE diſcords and diviſions, that have 'begun to infect the publick, as well as 'private tranquillity of our country, by

'the revival of ancient, and perſonal enmi-
'ties amongſt thoſe, who have very little
'fear of GOD, and are little intereſted and
'zealous, for the good of the publick, have
'obliged our principal chiefs to call us to-
'gether, to this general Conſulta, in order
'to deliberate on ſuch neceſſary meaſures,
'as may effectually contribute to the eſta-
'bliſhment of a common union, and to
'cauſe the moſt rigid laws to be put in
'execution, againſt ſuch as ſhall dare to
'diſturb it by their private piques, or un-
'ruly diſpoſitions.

'The moſt proper and effectual means,
'to ſucceed in this our deſireable end, are
'by us ſeriouſly thought to be, the electing
'of one oeconomical, political and general
'chief, of enlightened faculties, to com-
'mand over this kingdom with full power,
'except when there ſhall be occaſion to
'conſult upon matters concerning the ſtate,
'which he cannot treat of, without the con-
'currence of the people, or their reſpective
'repreſentatives.

'By the general voice is elected for that
'truſt, Paſcal Paoli; a man, whoſe virtues
'and abilities, render him every way worthy
'thereof.

'After ſo general an election, by the chiefs 'of the council of war, the deputies of the 'provinces, and the reſpective repreſentatives 'of the pariſhes aſſembled, this gentleman 'was invited, by a letter, to come; and a 'large committee of the principal members 'of the aſſembly, was ſent to his houſe, to 'deſire him to accept of the charge, and to 'repair hither to be acknowledged as our 'chief; and to take the ſolemn oath, to ex-'erciſe the office, with which he is inveſted, 'with the utmoſt zeal, affection and diſin-'tereſtedneſs; and to receive the oath of fi-'delity and obedience from the commons.

'Beſides, having given many reaſons a-'gainſt this, he has ſhewn much reluctance 'to take upon him ſo great a charge; but 'having been informed of our reſolutions 'and determinations, in caſe of any obſtacle 'or refuſal, he was obliged to acquieſce, be-'ing neceſſitated ſo to do. He was con-'ducted hither laſt night, and hath plighted 'and received the oaths abovementioned.

'He is to take the government upon him-'ſelf, aſſiſted by two counſellors of ſtate, 'and one of the moſt reputable perſons from 'each province, who ſhall be changed every 'month.

'The third day of August shall be fixed on, for a general circuit, in order to punish the authours of many crimes, particularly murders, committed lately in different parts. This circuit, to be directed by the aforesaid General, with the deputies. The number of armed men, as he shall think fitting.

'We hope, that these our resolutions and deliberations, will be to the general satisfaction, as it concerns the common good; and we charge all the chiefs and commissaries over the parishes, to co-operate, as far as lies in their power, to promote the publick tranquillity.'

Dated at St. Antonio of the White House, this 15th of July, 1755.

Though Paoli had long meditated on the importance of the charge he was to enter upon, its near approach struck him with awe; for his ideas were enlarged, his resolves were magnanimous, and the office appeared more momentous to him, than it could appear to one of more confined views, and more moderate plans.

His hesitation and diffidence, when called to the supreme command, was not affected.

He balanced the conſequences, and he could not but be ſeriouſly moved. For he could not divine with certainty, the aſtoniſhing influence which his government was to have, on the happineſs of his country. But the repreſentations made to him, were ſo earneſt, and, in ſome meaſure, ſo peremptory, that he thought himſelf bound in duty to accept of the arduous taſk.

When he enquired into the ſituation of the affairs of Corſica, he found the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. There was no ſubordination, no diſcipline, no money, hardly any arms and ammunition; and, what was worſe than all, little union among the people. He immediately began to remedy theſe defects. His perſuaſion and example, had wonderful force; all ranks exerted themſelves, in providing what was neceſſary for carrying on the war with ſpirit; whereby, in a ſhort time, the Genoeſe were driven to the remoteſt corners of the iſland.

Having thus expelled the foe, from the boſom of his country, he had leiſure to attend to the civil part of the adminiſtration, in which he diſcovered abilities and conſtancy, hardly to be paralleled. He rectified innumerable abuſes, which had inſinu-

ated themſelves, during the late times of trouble and confuſion. He, in a manner, new-modelled the government, upon the ſoundeſt principles of democratical rule, which was always his favourite idea.

The Corſicans having been long denied legal juſtice, had aſſumed the right of private revenge, and uſed to aſſaſſinate each other upon the moſt trivial occaſions. He found it extremely difficult to break them of this practice, by which it was computed, that the ſtate loſt 800 ſubjects every year. The diſeaſe was become ſo violent, that it ſeemed almoſt incurable. However, by ſeaſonable admonition, by repreſenting to them the ruin of this practice to the cauſe of liberty, at a time when they had occaſion for all the aſſiſtance they could lend to each other, joined to a ſtrict exerciſe of criminal juſtice, he gradually brought them to be convinced, that the power of diſpenſing puniſhment belonged to the publick; and that without a proper ſubmiſſion, and a regular ſyſtem of adminiſtration, they never could make head againſt an enemy, or indeed be properly ſpeaking a ſtate. So effectual were the meaſures he took, that a law was paſſed

making aſſaſſination capital, let it be committed on any pretence whatever.

The Corſicans are naturally humane; but, like the Italians, and moſt ſouthern nations, are extremely violent in their tempers. This is certainly the effect of a warm climate, which forms the human frame to an exquiſite degree of ſenſibility. Whatever advantages this ſenſibility may produce, by cheriſhing the finer feelings and more exalted affections; it is at the ſame time productive of ſome diſadvantages, being equally the occaſion of impatience, ſudden paſſion, and a ſpirit of revenge, tending to the diſorder of ſociety.

Paoli, by his maſterly knowledge of human nature, guided the Corſicans to glory, and rendered the impetuoſity of their diſpoſitions, and their paſſion for revenge, ſubſervient to the noble objects of liberty, and of vindicating their country. His wiſe inſtitutions had ſo good an effect, that notwithſtanding their frequent loſſes in action, it was found, that in a few years, the number of inhabitants was increaſed 16000.

When a proper ſyſtem of government was formed, and ſome of the moſt glaring abuſes rectified, Paoli proceeded to improve and

civilize the manners of the Corſicans. This was a very delicate taſk. They had been brought up in anarchy, and their conſtant virtue had been reſiſtance. It therefore, required the niceſt conduct, to make them diſcern the difference between ſalutary reſtraint and tyrannick oppreſſion. He was no monarch, born to rule, and who received a nation as a patrimonial inheritance. It was, therefore, in vain to think of acting with force, like the Czar Peter towards the Ruſſians. It was not, indeed, conſiſtent with his views of forming a free nation; but, had he been inclined to it, he could not have executed ſuch a plan. He was entirely dependant upon the people, elected by them, and anſwerable to them for his conduct. It was no eaſy matter to reſtrain thoſe of whom he held his power. But this, Paoli accompliſhed.

He gradually prepared the Corſicans for the reception of laws, by cultivating their minds, and leading them, of their own accord, to deſire the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral regulations, of which he ſhewed them the benefit. He founded an univerſity at Corte; and was at great pains to have proper ſchools, for the inſtruction of children, in every village of the kingdom.

The laſt ſtep he took was, to induce the Corſicans to apply themſelves to agriculture, commerce, and other civil occupations. War had entirely ruined induſtry in the iſland. It had given the Corſicans a contempt for the arts of peace; ſo that they thought nothing worthy of their attention, but arms and military achievments. The great and valorous actions, which many of them had performed, gave them a certain pride; which diſdained all meaner and more inglorious occupation. Heroes could not ſubmit to ſink down into plain peaſants. Their virtue was not ſo perfect, as that of the ancient Romans, who could return from the triumphs of victory, to follow their ploughs.

From theſe cauſes, the country was in danger of being entirely uncultivated, and the people of becoming a lawleſs and ungovernable rabble of banditti.

Paoli therefore, ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to guard againſt this; and by degrees, brought the Corſicans to look upon labour with leſs averſion, ſo as at leaſt to provide themſelves ſufficiently in food and cloathing, and to carry on a little commerce.

His adminiſtration, in every reſpect was

such, that, from being rent into factions, the nation became firm and united; and had not France again interposed, the Corsican heroes would long e'er now have totally driven the Genoese from the island.

Feeling its own importance, the Corsican nation resolved to give the Genoese no quarter at sea, which they had hitherto done, out of indulgence to the individuals of the republick; lamenting their unhappy situation, which obliged them to live under a tyrannical government. But finding that the Genoese continually attacked, and made booty of the Corsican vessels, it was thought highly equitable to retaliate; preserving at the same time, all due respect for the other maritime powers. To this effect, a manifesto was issued in 1760 (*a*).

These firm and rapid advances of the Corsican nation, filled the Genoese with serious concern; and in 1761, they published a manifesto, in very mild and insinuating terms, to try if they could allure the Corsicans to a pacifick submission (*b*).

Immediately upon this, a general Council was assembled at Vescovato in Cafinca, where

(*a*) Appendix, N° I. (*b*) Appendix, N° II.

the Corsicans rebellious were taken, never to blame any agreement with the republick, but on condition of having Corsica secured to its liberties and independency (a).

A memorial was also published by the Corsicans, to the sovereigns of Europe (b), calling upon them, by the rights of humanity, to interpose and give peace to a nation which had done so much for freedom.

In these various writings, there is a spirit of eloquence, a feeling, and a resolution, which does honour to the character of this people.

But the politicks of Versailles did not favour the Corsican cause; France has been alternately the scourge and the shield of Genoa. Paoli had well nigh completly finished his great scheme of freeing every part of the island from the Genoese, when a treaty was concluded between France and the republick, by which the former engaged to send six battalions of troops to garrison the fortified towns in Corsica, for the space of four years.

When this treaty was first known in Europe, every noble heart was afflicted; for

(a) Appendix. N° III. (b) Appendix. N° IV.

every body believed, that France was again determined to carry fire and ſword into Corſica, and blaſt the hopes of the brave iſlanders. Mr. Rouſſeau wrote of it, with his uſual energy, to his friend and mine, M. de Leyre, at Parma; one of the authours of the Encyclopedie, a man who unites with ſcience and genius the moſt amiable heart and moſt generous ſoul. 'Il faut avouer que 'vos François, ſont un peuple bien ſervile, 'bien vendu à la tyrannie, bien cruel, et 'bien acharné ſur les malheureux. S'ils ſa'voient un homme libre à l'autre bout du 'monde, je crois qu'ils iroient pour le ſeul 'plaiſir de l'exterminer. It muſt be owned 'that your countrymen, the French, are a 'very ſervile nation, wholly ſold to tyranny, 'exceedingly cruel and relentleſs in perſe'cuting the unhappy. If they knew of a 'freeman at the other end of the world, I 'believe they would go thither for the 'mere pleaſure of extirpating him.' *

But it turned out to be a prudent and politick ſcheme on the part of France. She

* It is difficult to give a good tranſlation of a ſentence ſo original and forcible. I am indebted for the above, to a friend who does not chooſe to have his name mentioned as a tranſlator.

owed the Genoeſe ſome millions of livres. Her finances were not ſuch as made it very convenient for her to pay. But the French Miniſters are never at a loſs to conclude an advantageous treaty for their monarch. They told the Genoeſe, 'We cannot yet 'let you have your money. But we will 'ſend you ſix battalions of auxiliaries to 'Corſica, and let that be a ſinking fund for 'the diſcharge of our debt.' The Genoeſe, who recalled with barbarous ſatisfaction what France had formerly done againſt the Corſicans, never doubted, that if French ſoldiers were again in the iſland, continual ſkirmiſhes would enſue: France would be provoked, and a bloody war would be the conſequence, by which the Corſicans would again be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. They were therefore extremely pleaſed with the ſcheme.

The French, however, took care to engage to act only in the defenſive, and to fix the treaty for four years, that they might be ſure of having time to ſink their debt. They ſent the troops as ſtipulated, in the end of the year 1764; and the Count de Marboeuf was appointed commander in chief.

M. de Marboeuf was an officer of experience and temper; and, no doubt, had his inſtructions to conduct himſelf mildly towards the Corſicans. All his duty was, to take care that things ſhould not become worſe for Genoa; but, that ſhe ſhould ſtill retain the garriſon towns of Baſtia, San Fiorenzo, Calvi, Algagliola and Ajaccio.

The Corſicans conducted themſelves, upon this occaſion, with the greateſt propriety. A general council was held, and determinations (*a*) publiſhed; from which it appears, that they ſhewed no diſtruſt of the French, who, they truſted, would not begin hoſtilities againſt them. But, for greater ſecurity, it was provided, that a council of war ſhould be appointed by the government, to be ever vigilant againſt any infractions of what they ſuppoſed France had tacitly promiſed to them, and was bound by the law of nations to obſerve; that the French troops ſhould not be allowed to have acceſs to the territories of the nation; that the General ſhould poſt ſufficient guards upon the frontiers; and if any French officer deſired a paſſport, he might grant it; but ſhould be obliged

(*a*) Appendix. N° V.

to give an account, in the next general conſulta, of what paſſports he had granted; of his motives for granting them; and of every treaty he ſhould have with the French. That, as it was reported, ſome new propoſals of peace with the republick would be offered, they ſhould reject all ſuch, if they did not firſt grant to the nation, the preliminaries reſolved upon in the general council of Caſinca. That the General ſhould make a reſpectful remonſtrance in the name of the nation, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with regard to the loſs it muſt ſuſtain by the arrival of his troops; by which, the Genoeſe would be relieved of the great expences they had been obliged to lay out upon the Corſican war, and the patriots be prevented from following their ſucceſsful enterpriſes, and totally expelling their enemies from the iſland. That this remonſtrance might be more effectual, his excellency ſhould, at the ſame time, apply to the powers favourable to Corſica, that they might employ their mediation with the French king, in order to preſerve to the nation its rights, prerogatives, liberty and independency. And they further ordered, that as every body

had, without controul, cut timber in the woods of Corſica, they ſhould be prohibited ſo to do, without the permiſſion of the government.

Theſe determinations were wiſe and moderate. Without giving umbrage to the French, they ſecured the patriots from ſudden attacks, or inſidious wiles. The article relating to the cutting of timber, was eſſentially requiſite to prevent the French from carrying it away to Marſeilles and Toulon; which they, probably, would have done, had it not been for this edict, which preſerved to the Corſicans a noble ſupply of wood to be ready, either for their own ſervice, or for the ſervice of any maritime power, with whom they might make an alliance.

The warlike operations of Corſica were now ſuſpended. But Paoli improved the ſeaſon of tranquillity to the beſt purpoſe, in preparing for future ſchemes of victory, and in giving perfection and ſtability to the civil conſtitution of his country; effectuating what ages had not been able to produce, and exhibiting an illuſtrious inſtance of what was ſaid of Epaminondas; 'Unum homi-

'nem pluris fuisse quam civitatem (a).
'That one man has been of more conse-
'quence than a whole nation.'

(a) Corn. Nep. Vit. Epam. in fin.

CHAPTER III.

The Preſent State of CORSICA, *with reſpect to the Government, Religion, Arms, Commerce, Learning, Genius and Character of its* INHABITANTS.

AFTER running over the revolutions of an iſland, which has experienced ſo many viciſſitudes, it will be agreeable to conſider the reſult of theſe vigorous exertions in the cauſe of liberty. I ſhall, therefore, with much pleaſure, preſent my readers with the ſtate of Corſica as it now is.

The government of Corſica is, as follows. Every paeſe or village, elects, by majority of votes, a Podeſtà and other two magiſtrates, who have the reſpectable name of 'Padri del Commune; Fathers of the Community.' Theſe magiſtrates are choſen annually. They may be continued in office for ſeveral years, at the will of the community; but there muſt be a new election every year.

The Podeſtà, by himſelf, may determine

cauſes to the value of ten livres; and united with the Padri del Commune, may finally determine cauſes to the value of thirty livres. The Podeſtà is the repreſentative of the government, and to him are addreſſed all the orders of the ſupreme council. The Padri del Commune ſuperintend the œconomy and police of the village, call the people together, and conſult with them on every thing that concerns their intereſt. In ſome villages, the inhabitants join with the Podeſtà and Padri del Commune, twelve honeſt men, in whom they can confide, and to whom they delegate their power of ſettling the affairs of the publick. Theſe are called counſellors, and ſit as aſſeſſors with the three magiſtrates of the village. The names of theſe magiſtrates, as ſoon as elected, muſt be tranſmitted to the magiſtrates of the province, who have it in their power to oppoſe the choice, and order a new election; but this never happens when the people have been unanimous. Sometimes they chooſe two Podeſtàs and one Padre del Commune, and ſometimes more and ſometimes fewer counſellors. Theſe irregularities are permitted, to humour the caprices of different villages in an infant ſtate, and are of no conſequence;

for the same degree of power remains to each office, whether it be held by a lesser or a greater number; as in the states of Holland, those who send two or three representatives, have but an equal voice with those who send only one. In some of the more considerable towns, the Podesta is not subject to the provincial magistrates, but is considered as having equal authority with them.

Once a year, all the inhabitants of each village assemble themselves and choose a Procuratour, to represent them in the general consulta or parliament of the nation, which is held annually in the month of May, at the city of Corte. This procuratour is elected by the majority of the voices. He must have a mandate, attested by a notary publick, which, on his arrival at Corte, he presents to the great chancellor of the kingdom, by whom it is registered. Each procuratour has, from his community, a livre a day, to bear his charges from the time of his setting out till his return home. This allowance is too small, and must soon be increased.

Sometimes the procuratours of all the villages, contained in the same pieve, choose

from among themſelves one who goes as repreſentative of the pieve, which ſaves ſome expence to the villages. But this is an abuſe, and when matters of any conſequence are deliberating, it renders the number of thoſe who are to conſult greatly too ſmall. A little expence ſhould be deſpiſed, in compariſon of having a voice in making the laws, and ſettling the moſt ſerious affairs of the country; and the greater the number of voices, the more does the aſſembly approach to the idea of a Roman comitia.

The general conſulta is, indeed, a great and numerous aſſembly; for, beſides the ordinary procuratours, it is uſual to call in ſeveral of thoſe who have formerly been members of the ſupreme council, and ſeveral of thoſe who have loſt their fathers or near relations in the ſervice of their country, that the blood of heroes may be diſtinguiſhed by publick honours.

The magiſtrates of each province alſo ſend a procuratour to the general conſulta; and when all the procuratours are aſſembled at Corte, in preſence of the General and the ſupreme council of ſtate, it is recommended to the procuratours of each province, to chooſe two of their number, who, together

with the procuratour of their magiſtrates, may proceed to the election of the Preſident and oratour of the general conſulta. The procuratours of each province accordingly chooſe two of their number by votes viva voce, if they are unanimous; and if not unanimous, by ballot.

Theſe two, with the procuratour of the magiſtrates of each province, come before the ſupreme council, to whom every one of them gives in a ſealed note, containing the name of the perſon who, he thinks, ſhould be preſident: theſe notes are conſidered by the ſupreme council, and the three who have moſt notes inſcribed with their names, are put to a ballot; and he who carries two thirds of the votes in his favour, is made preſident.

In the ſchedule or note, a procuratour may inſert the name of his relation, or of one who has been ſtrongly recommended to him; but by ballot, he can freely give his vote for the perſon whom he thinks moſt deſerving; ſo that it often happens, that the perſon among the three, who had the feweſt notes for him, will be made preſident by a great majority. This appears to me another abuſe; for a procuratour, by inſerting

in the ſchedule the name of one of whom he does not approve, runs a riſque of having the man whom he thinks moſt deſerving, thrown out altogether. Beſides, he ought not to be moved by conſiderations of connection or of recommendation. The members of the ſupreme council have alſo their votes in this ballot for the preſident. The oratour is choſen exactly in the ſame manner.

The preſident governs during the ſitting of the general conſulta. The oratour reads the different papers ſubjected to deliberation. Propoſitions from the government are addreſſed to the preſident. Thoſe from the people are addreſſed to the oratour. If a propoſition from the government is approved of by a majority of voices, it is immediately paſſed into a law. But a propoſition from the people, though approved of, may be ſuſpended by the government, without aſſigning their reaſons; which, however, they are ſtrictly obliged to do at the next general conſulta.

This ſuſpending power was greatly agitated in the Corſican parliament; and the people oppoſed it ſo much, that it was thought it would not take place. But Paoli, ever ready to enlighten his countrymen,

ſhewed them, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the government may have many deſigns, not mature enough for being communicated to the publick, but of eſſential advantage to the nation; ſo that it is highly proper they ſhould have the privilege of delaying for a while, any propoſition which might interfere with theſe deſigns. Beſides, the ſupreme council, as the grand procuratours of the nation, and poſſeſſed of their greateſt confidence, ought to be ſpecially heard; and if they think a propoſition important and critical, may well be allowed to put it off, till it ſhall be fully conſidered by all the ſubjects of the ſtate. And this can be attended with no bad conſequences; ſince the people may, at an after period, paſs their propoſition into a law.

The procuratours of each province next aſſemble themſelves, in preſence of the preſident of the general conſulta, or a preſident deputed by him; and each province appoints its repreſentative in the ſupreme council, for the enſuing year; and one of theſe is elected into the office of Great Chancellor. The ſupreme council, for the time being, may remonſtrate againſt this election; and the election of each province muſt be con-

firmed by a majority of the other provinces; because theſe counſellors, with the General of the kingdom, are to form the executive power of the whole nation; the general conſulta or legiſlative power devolving upon them that high commiſſion.

The General holds his office for life. He is perpetual preſident of the ſupreme council of nine. He votes in all queſtions; and in caſe of an equality, he has a caſting vote. He is abſolute commander of the troops or militia of the iſland. His office much reſembles that of the ſtadtholder of Holland.

The procuratours of each province alſo chooſe the provincial magiſtrates for the enſuing year. This magiſtracy is regularly compoſed of a preſident, two conſultors, an auditour and a chancellor: but the number is varied in different provinces, in the ſame manner as the magiſtracy in different villages. The auditour and chancellor have ſmall ſalaries; and the magiſtracy have their table kept at the publick expence, with a guard of ſoldiers in pay. The provincial magiſtrates can try criminals, and pronounce ſentence againſt them; but a ſentence for capital puniſhment cannot be put in execution, till it is approved by the ſupreme

council. In civil causes, they can determine finally to the extent of fifty livres; in causes exceeding that sum, parties may appeal to the Rota Civile, which is a tribunal consisting of three doctours of laws, chosen by the supreme council, and continued at their pleasure. This tribunal judges according to the civil and canon laws, and according to the particular laws of Corsica. These last were partly formed in old times, and afterwards augmented and improved by the Genoese, who published them under the title of, 'Statuti Civili et Criminali del 'Isola di Corsica.' They are become very scarce. I have a copy of them, a thin folio, printed at Bastia, in 1694. It is a very good little code, and does credit to Genoa. 'Felix si sic omnia.' Happy would it have been had she shewn the same equity in all respects.' There are also a few modern laws. Although the judgment, both of the magistrates of the villages, and of the provincial magistrates, be final to the extent of the values I have mentioned, yet if any person is manifestly aggrieved, he may obtain redress by applying to the supreme council, or to the court of syndicato, another excellent institution, which is conducted in the following manner.

In the general conſulta, beſides the elections of which I have given an account, the procuratours alſo chooſe ſome perſons of high credit and reſpect, as ſyndicatori. Theſe make a tour through the different provinces, as our judges in Britain go the circuits. They hear complaints againſt the different magiſtrates; and if any of them have tranſgreſſed their duty, they are properly cenſured. Theſe ſyndicators are exceedingly beneficial. The General himſelf is for the moſt part one of them. They ſave poor people the trouble and expence of going to Corte to lay their grievances before the ſupreme council. They examine into every thing concerning the provinces, reconcile the people to the wholeſome ſeverity of law, encourage induſtry and every good undertaking, and diffuſe a ſpirit of order and civilization in all corners of the iſland.

Such is the government of Corſica; which exhibits a compleat and well ordered democracy. From the Podeſtà and Padri del Comune, up to the ſupreme council, there is a gradual progreſſion of power, flowing from the people, which they can reſume, and diſpoſe of at their pleaſure, at the end of every year; ſo that no magiſtrate or ſy-

vant of the publick, of whatever degree, will venture, for so short a time, to encroach upon his conſtituents; knowing that he muſt ſoon give an account of his adminiſtration; and if he ſhould augment the authority of his office, he is only wreathing a yoke for his own neck, as he is immediately to return to the ſituation of an ordinary ſubject. Nay, if a magiſtrate is not totally loſt to every manly feeling, he will not even allow himſelf to reſt in ſupine negligence; but will exert his powers for the good of the country, that he may recommend himſelf to his fellow citizens, and be honoured with farther marks of their confidence.

In the general conſulta held in the year 1764, ſeveral wiſe regulations were made with regard to the government, of which I ſhall give the ſubſtance.

No propoſitions made to the general conſulta, ſhall acquire the force of laws, if they be not approved by two thirds of the voices.

Propoſitions approved by one half of the voices, may be propoſed in the ſame ſeſſion, a ſecond or third time: thoſe which are not approved by one half of the voices, cannot be propoſed again, in the ſame ſeſſion;

but may be brought in, with consent of the government, in some future session.

The supreme council of state shall consist of nine counsellors, six of this side, and three of the other side of the mountains, one for each province. Three of them shall reside at Corte, during the first four months; three during the second, and three during the third: that is to say, during each space, there shall be two of this side, and one of the other side of the mountains; and the three in residence shall have the authority of all the nine. But it shall be lawful for the General, to call the whole nine to the residence, whenever he shall think it necessary on account of any important affair.

None of the three residing counsellors of state shall be absent from the residence, for any cause whatever, without having first obtained leave in writing, from the General; and this leave shall not be granted for a longer time than eight days, and but upon the weightiest motives. In case of the General's absence from the residence, at the same time that one of the three counsellors is also absent, all judicial proceedings shall be suspended.

No man shall be elected a counsellor of

ſtate, who is not above thirty five years of age, and who has not held with approbation, the office of preſident in a provincial magiſtracy, or the office of Podeſtà in ſome principal town. Notwithſtanding which, however, any perſon of ſingular merit, who has ſuſtained with approbation, other reſpectable charges, in the ſervice of his country, though he hath not borne the offices above-mentioned, may be elected a counſellor, provided he be of the age preſcribed by law.

No man ſhall be appointed to the office of preſident of a provincial magiſtracy, who is under thirty years of age, and who has not twice held the office of conſultor in the ſaid magiſtracy, or ſome other reſpectable employment in the ſervice of his country; and who has not the proper knowledge neceſſary for that office.

The office of Podeſtà, in the towns not ſubject to the provincial magiſtracy, ſhall be conferred by the ſame regulations.

The charge of General of the kingdom, being vacated by death, by reſignation, or by any other means, the whole of the ſupreme authority ſhall then remain in the actual counſellors of ſtate, the eldeſt of whom ſhall preſide at the council, by which

In the space of a month after the vacancy, intimation must be made for a Consulta to be held, for electing a new general.

The counsellors of state, the presidents of magistracies, and other officers and judges, shall remain in their respective charges, and have the full exercise of their authority, till they are relieved by their lawful successours.

The counsellors of state, the presidents of provincial magistracies, and the Podestàs of the larger towns shall not be re-elected to the same charge, without having been two years out of office, and without producing credentials from the supreme syndicators, attesting their good and laudable conduct in the employment which they have exercised.

Paoli has succeeded wonderfully in settling the claims of the feudal signors. These signors made several applications to the government, praying for the restitution of their ancient rights. This was a very delicate question. To allow to these signors the ample privileges which they enjoyed of old, would have been to establish independent principalities in Corsica, and must have tended to subvert the enlarged and

free conſtitution, which Paoli had formed for the permanent felicity of the ſtate.

The ſignors had not been foremoſt in the glorious war. They had much to loſe; and heſitated at taking arms againſt the republick of Genoa, leſt they ſhould forfeit their domains.

The peaſants, on the contrary, had plunged at once into danger. Theſe had nothing to loſe but their lives; and a life of ſlavery is not to be prized. If they ſhould be ſucceſsful, they were fired with the hopes of a double deliverance, from the diſtant tyranny of the republick, and from the more intimate oppreſſion of their feudal lords. This was become ſo grievous, that a very ſenſible Corſican owned to me, that ſuppoſing the republick had abandoned its pretenſions over Corſica, ſo that the peaſants ſhould not have been obliged to riſe againſt the Genoeſe, they would have riſen againſt the ſignors.

The peaſants therefore, would not now conſent, to return under the arbitrary power, from which they had freed themſelves, in conſequence of their bravery. To propoſe ſuch a meaſure to them, would have been

enough to excite a revolt, to break the nation anew into parties, and give their enemies an opportunity, of again fomenting discord, and hatred, and assassinations; till the Corsicans should themselves do, what all the stratagem and force of Genoa had attempted in vain.

On the other hand, the signors were not to be offended, so as to make them become malecontents, and disturb the operations of the government. The motto of the sagacious Hollanders, 'Frangimur si collidimur, We shall go to pieces, if we dash against each other,' should be impressed on the minds of the different orders of men, in every nation; but is doubly important in an infant state.

Paoli indulged the signors so far, that they themselves should not be personally amenable before the magistrates of the provinces in which their respective jurisdictions lie. That they should have the power of determining causes between the peasants upon their fiefs, without being responsible for their sentences, to the provincial magistrates; but that they should be subject to the review of the supreme council, and of the court of the syndicato.

In this manner, the signors have the flat-

tering diſtinction of a certain degree of authority, while, in reality, they are diſcharging the united duties of fathers of the community, Podeſtàs, and provincial magiſtrates. And as they are, like them, ſubject to the cognizance of higher judicatories, they cannot abuſe their powers; but while they enjoy a preeminence over the other nobles, they juſt afford the ſtate, at no expence, an additional number of judges to promote civilization among a rude and unpoliſhed people.

Thus have the hereditary feudal juriſdictions been moderated in Corſica, by a fortunate concurrence of accident and wiſdom; partly by the tumults of a ſpirited war, partly by the prudent diſpoſitions of an able legiſlatour. And a ſyſtem tranſplanted from the north, by robuſt Barbarians, into moſt countries of Europe; where having taken deep root, and ſpread wide its branches, the utmoſt violence has been required to extirpate it, has, by a ſtorm ſalutary to the iſland, and by ſkilful management, been brought under command, and even rendered uſeful in Corſica.

When the government ſhall have arrived at greater maturity, and time ſhall have

abated the ardour of rule, the signors will be disposed to resign a distinction attended with more trouble than advantage.

In this manner is the Corsican government carried on, and, no doubt, they will be able to render it still more perfect; though as it now is, I look upon it as the best model that hath ever existed in the democratical form.

Sparta, indeed, was a nervous constitution; but, with reverence to the memory of immortal Lycurgus, Sparta was deficient in gentleness and humanity. That total inversion of the human affections, that extinction of every finer feeling, was a situation so forced, and so void of pleasure, that it is not to be envied. We must indeed admire the astonishing influence of their Legislatour. But we may be allowed to think that all he obtained by it, was only the preservation of a state; and preservation is nothing, without happiness. Sir James Steuart is of opinion, that, 'had the Lacedemonians adhered to the principles of their government, and spirit of their constitution, they might have perhaps subsisted to this very day (*a*).' I believe

(*a*) Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy, book II. chap. 14.

it might have been ſo. But, could Lycurgus have changed his Spartans into men of ſtone, they would have laſted ſtill longer.

In the conſtitution of Corſica, while proper meaſures are taken for the continuation of the ſtate, individuals have the full enjoyment of all the comforts of life. They are men, as well as citizens; and when once they ſhall have entirely freed themſelves from the Genoeſe, I cannot imagine a country more happy. Animated with this proſpect, Paoli ſways the hearts of his countrymen. Their love for him is ſuch, that although the power of the general is properly limited, the power of Paoli knows no bounds. It is high treaſon ſo much as to ſpeak againſt, or calumniate him; a ſpecies of deſpotiſm, founded, contrary to the principles of Monteſquieu, on the affection of love. I ſhall finiſh my account of the government of this iſland, with a very remarkable anecdote.

A Corſican who had been formerly in the ſervice of the French king, and had obtained the croſs of St. Louis, upon his return to his native country, had entered into ſome practices which were contrary to the liberty of it. He was alſo ſuſpected to have a deſign againſt the general's life. Upon this

he was sent to prison, from whence, however, after some time, he was, at the intercession of the French general then in the island, set at liberty. Not long after, he was a second time caught in other secret and treasonable practices, and was again sent to prison. His life was again asked, together with his freedom, by the French commander; who being refused this request, desired to know of Paoli what he intended to do with the prisoner? 'Sir,' said Paoli, 'I will 'tell you, when I shall have perfected the 'liberty of my country, and shall have fixed 'it upon that establishment which I think 'most likely to maintain it; I will then call 'together the states of the island, and will 'produce the man. I will shew him that 'liberty, that form of government, that 'happiness which he wanted to destroy. 'After which, I will banish him from the 'island, for ever.' Such is the manner of thinking of this illustrious chief.

The religion of Corsica is the Roman Catholic faith, in which these islanders are very zealous. Perhaps they have a degree of superstition; which is the best extreme. No nation can prosper without piety; for when

that fails, publick ſpirit and every noble ſentiment will decay. The doctrine of looking up to an all-ruling Providence, and that of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, rendered the Roman people virtuous and great. In proportion as theſe doctrines were weakened, by the falſe philoſophy of Epicurus, the minds of the Romans were impoveriſhed, and their manly patriotiſm was ſucceeded by effeminate ſelfiſhneſs, which quickly brought them to contempt and ruin.

Although firmly attached to their religion, as the revelation ſent from GOD, the Corſicans preſerve in eccleſiaſtical matters, the ſame ſpirit of boldneſs and freedom, for which they are diſtinguiſhed in civil affairs. They are ſworn enemies to the temporal power of the church. Indeed the late violent differences between the national government and the biſhops, has pretty well diminiſhed their prejudices with reſpect to the perſons of the clergy.

The Corſican biſhops, who are five in number, and ſuffragans of the archbiſhop of Piſa, were warmly attached to Genoa; for on Genoa they depended for promotion. They thought fit to preach up the moſt ſla-

vish doctrines of submission, and stigmatized the patriots as rebels. The government desired that they might reside in the territories of the nation, and promised them a guard, to protect them from any insult. But the bishops knew well, that in the territories of the nation, they could not preach the doctrines of tyranny, and therefore refused to reside there. Upon which, the government prohibited the patriots from having any intercourse with the bishops; with which they most readily complied.

The Pope, sorry to see the Corsicans like sheep without a shepherd, resolved to send them an apostolick Visiter, to officiate in place of the bishops.

The Genoese, considering this as in some measure taking part with the malecontents, gave in a long remonstrance to the Pope, setting forth, 'That they were sensible of 'the rectitude of the intentions of his holi-'ness, and were ever ready to shew their 'unalterable devotion towards the holy see: 'but they begged leave to say, that no pro-'vision he should make against the spiritual 'evils of Corsica, could be effectual, with-'out the concurrence of the republick.'

The Corsicans, happy to receive such

countenance from the church, laughed at this laboured and artful remonſtrance. "Ecco la ſtatua di Nabucco, il capo d'oro e piedi di creta. Si comincia dal complimento, e ſi termina nella minaccia. Behold the ſtatue of Nebuchadnezar! the head of gold, and the feet of clay. It begins with a compliment, and ends with a threatening."

The court of Naples thought proper to interpoſe, in behalf of Genoa. Cardinal Orſini, the Neapolitan miniſter at the court of Rome, gave in alſo remonſtrances; and a plodding heavy Genoeſe Canon, publiſhed a very long Diſcorſo Theologico-Canonico-Politico, full of quotations from innumerable authorities, and no doubt aſſured himſelf, that his performance was unanſwerable. But the Pope adhered to his reſolution, and ſent Monſignore Ceſare Criſcentio de Angelis, biſhop of Segni, as apoſtolick Viſiter over all Corſica.

The Corſicans accepted of his miſſion, with the greateſt cordiality and joy. Signor Barbaggi, who is married to the niece of Paoli, welcomed him to the iſland, in a polite oration. He was not only to perform the functions of the biſhops, but was to be general of all the Religious in Corſica, ap-

pointing under him a provincial vicar. He was a man of so much piety, good sense, and engaging conduct, that the people conceived an universal love and regard for him.

The Genoese no longer continued their Ligurian deceit, but threw off the mask. They published a manifesto, prohibiting all their subjects in Corsica, under the heaviest penalties, to comply with the orders of the apostolick Visiter, and offering six thousand Roman crowns, to any person who should bring him prisoner to any of their fortresses.

This audacious edict the Pope very gravely annulled, with great solemnity. Some ages ago, he would have performed a more dreadful ceremony. The government of Corsica again, publickly proclaimed their displeasure, at the scandalous temerity of the republick of Genoa, 'who,' said they, 'have sent forth an edict, by which they 'have not only offended against the respect due to the holy see; but have presumed to meddle in the affairs of this kingdom, which no longer acknowledges them as sovereign. Therefore we declare the said edict, to be destructive of religion, and of the apostolick authority; offensive to the

'majesty of the vicar of Christ; seditious, 'and contrary to the security and tranquil- 'lity of our state, and tending to corrupt 'our laws and good customs. And we have 'condemned it to be publickly torn, and 'burnt, by the hands of the common hang- 'man: and this to prevent such unwor- 'thy memorials from Genoa, in time com- 'ing.'

This sentence was put in execution, by beat of drum, below the gallows, in the city of Corte, upon the spot where stood the house of the wretch who assassinated Gaffori.

It was a most political step in the Corsicans. They recommended themselves to the Pope; they appeared firm, and authoritative; and they put contempt upon their enemies.

Having thus got rid of their tyrannical bishops, the Corsicans very wisely began to consider, that, as these dignified churchmen refused to reside and perform the duties of their offices, there was no occasion for send- ing them considerable sums, to enable them to live in idleness and luxury, when the money might be much better employed. They therefore thought it highly reasonable, that the bishops tithes should go to the pub-

lick chamber of the laity and accordingly it was so decreed.

A prodigious outcry was raised against this. But the Corsicans defended their conduct with great force and spirit.

'Hanno usurpate le decime, ed occupati 'i beni dei vescovi. They have usurped 'the tithes, and seized upon the goods of 'the bishops,' said the Genoese.

Replied the Corsicans, 'Usurpate è mal 'detto. Noi confesseremo la verità senza cor'da; poichè qui ambulat simpliciter ambu'lat confidenter. Il governo ha presa una 'porzione delle decime, e dei beni de' ves'covi; ed ecco perchè. Primo, perchè ne 'ha avuta necessità; e questo è un diritto 'superiore ad ogni altro. Nello stato in cui 'siamo per noi non vi è mezzo. O libertà, 'o schiavitù la più orribile. Per non cadere 'nella schiavitù, è necessaria la guerra: per 'sostenere la guerra, è necessaria la truppa; 'ma per pagarla, non bastando le taffe dei se'colari, fu stabilito in una consulta, di pren'dere un sussidio dagli ecclesiastici; sull' e'sempio di S. Pietro, e di tutti i principi. 'Ma i principi, si dice, non alimentano una 'truppa ribelle. Una truppa che difende la 'libertà, la vita, l'onore, e la patria, dalla

' più iniqua di tutte le oppressioni, è più sa-
' cra, venerabile, e pia, di quella di una Cro-
' ciata. Secondo, perchè appunto per dis-
' cacciare i Genovesi da questo regno, Be-
' nedetto XI. concesse a Giacomo rè di Arra-
' gona, per tre anni, le decime. Ora, se il
' caso è lo stesso, il bisogno maggiore, più
' pressanti le circonstanze, perchè non sarà
' lecito adesso quel che fu conceduto allora?
' Terzo, perchè niuno è più obligato dei no-
' stri vescovi, di contribuire alle spese di
' questa guerra, da cui, essi soli finora hanno
' ricavato profitto; ottenendo una sacra mi-
' tra, che non avrebber ottenuta, in mille
' anni di pace. Come? I secolari hanno
' versato un fiume di sangue, per procurar
' loro un sì bel capitale, ed essi si faranno
' sentire per participarne qualche frutto;
' tanto più dovendo impiegarsi, per conser-
' vare alla nazione lo stesso vantaggio, e pro-
' curargliene dei maggiori? Quarto, perchè i
' nostri vescovi, in vece di farla da pastori e da
' padri, si portan da nemici. Han disertato
' dalle loro diocesi; si son ritirati presso à ne-
' mici; hanno loro imprestate gran somme,
' perchè ci facciano guerra; cela fanno eglino
' stessi orribilmente, colle armi spirituali, e si

ſono oſtinati a non volersi reſtituire al ſuo gregge. Il nostro governo, per obbligarli al ritorno, si è servito del ripiego, di cui si valſe Assalonne, per ridurre al dovere Gioab. Or ſe eſſi ſono di Gioab più caparbii, chi li compatirà? chi del nostro governo riprenderà la condotta? Si aggiunga, che i frutti di chi non risiede, di chi non ſerve l'Altare, e molto più di chi lo tradiſce, ſon devoluti a' poveri. Ora, chi più povera della nostra truppa, della nostra finanza?

Uſurped is ill ſaid. We will confeſs the truth, without diſguiſe; ſince he who walketh ſimply, walketh ſurely. The government hath taken a portion of the tithes, and of the goods of the biſhops. And the reaſons for it, are theſe, firſt, becauſe we are under a neceſſity to do ſo, which is a right ſuperiour to every other. In the ſituation in which we are, there is no medium; or liberty, or the moſt horrible ſlavery. Not to fall into ſlavery, it is neceſſary for us to make war. To ſuſtain the war it is neceſſary for us to have troops. And when we found, that the takes of the regulars were not ſufficient to pay the troops, it was decreed in a Conſulta, that we ſhould take a ſubſidy from the eccle-

'catholicks, after the example of St. Peter, 'and of all princes. But, say the Genoese, 'Princes do not support a rebel army.' An 'army which defends their liberty, their 'life, their honour and their country, from 'the most unjust of all oppressions, is more 'sacred, more venerable, more pious than 'that of a croisade. Secondly, because Be- 'nedict the XI. granted the tithes, for three 'years, to James king of Arragon, on pur- 'pose that he might drive the Genoese from 'this kingdom. And if the case is the same, 'the necessity still greater, and the circum- 'stances more pressing, shall not what was 'lawful then, be granted now? Thirdly, 'because nobody is under a greater obliga- 'tion to contribute to the expence of this 'war, than our bishops; as they alone have 'hitherto derived any profit from it; hav- 'ing obtained the sacred mitre, which they 'would not have obtained in a thousand 'years of peace. How? The seculars have 'shed a river of blood, to procure them so 'noble a capital, of which they have enjoyed 'the fruits, and are they not in duty bound, 'to do every thing to preserve to the pa- 'triots, what advantage they have gained, 'and to aid them in getting more? Fourth-

'If, because our bishops, instead of being 'grateful, instead of acting like pastours 'and fathers, have behaved themselves as 'enemies. They have deserted their dioce- 'ses, and retired into the territory of our 'foes. They have lent large sums of money, 'to carry on the war: nay they have them- 'selves shewn a dreadful hostility by their 'spiritual arms, and have obstinately refused 'to return to their flocks. To oblige them 'to return, our government hath tried the 'same remedy which Absalom employed, 'to bring Joab back to his duty. If they 'are more froward than Joab, who will feel 'for them? who will find fault with the 'conduct of our government? To con- 'clude, the tithes of those who do not re- 'side, who do not serve at the altar, and 'much more of those who betray it, fall 'to the poor. Now what can be poorer 'than our troops, than our finances?'

The tithes in Corsica are, in general, about a twentieth part of every production. The government has at present a pretty good share of them; as it not only takes the revenues of the bishops, but also those of nominal benefices, where there is no

care of ſouls, and all the penſions which the Pope uſed to grant to foreign eccleſiaſticks, out of the rich livings. When the affairs of the iſland ſhall be ſettled, no doubt the government will reſtore the biſhops rents. But application will be made to the Pope, to have the number of biſhops increaſed, in order that the epiſcopal functions may be better adminiſtred, and that the ſpirit of equality may be more preſerved; for the biſhops, when in poſſeſſion of their large revenues, would be like princes in the iſland.

Several of the inhabitants of Corſica, have made a compoſition with the church, for their tithes; and the deſcendants of the Caporali, who were of ſuch ſervice to Hugo Colonna, in expelling the Saracens, are, by ſpecial privilege, exempted from paying any tithes. This privilege is ſuppoſed to have been granted to them, very anciently by the Pope, in whoſe cauſe it was, that they ſhewed their zeal. The clergy of Corſica, in general, are not as yet very learned, as the barbarous policy of Genoa to keep the iſland in ignorance, and the many years of confuſion and war, have prevented the cul-

tivation of letters. There are, however, here and there, some priests, who have had an education upon the continent, and are very well instructed, and they are all very pious, and of irreproachable morals.

There are in Corsica, 65 convents of Mendicant Friars; viz. 34 of Observanti, and 14 of Reformed, of the order of St. Francis, and 17 of Capuchins. Every one of these convents, has only a wood for retired walks, a garden and a small vineyard. They depend altogether on the charity of the people. There are two colleges of Jesuits, two convents of Dominicans, five of Servites, and one of Missionaries; all of whom have very good possessions. There are also some lands belonging to other religious orders, particularly to the Carthusians of Pisa, the severe sanctity of whom, must secure them the veneration of every body, and preserve their rights inviolated even in times of the greatest distraction.

It would be expected, that in this island, the monasteries for women should bear some proportion to the convents for men; yet, in fact, there is not a single nunnery in all Corsica. To account for this, it must be

considered, that the monastick institution has been frequently perverted to secular purposes; so that the nobility in catholick countries, who are desirous to aggrandize their families, make their daughters take the veil, solely that their portions may be saved for the eldest son. The Genoese, who wanted to keep the Corsicans in continual subjection, devised every method to prevent any of the nobles in the island from becoming considerable. They therefore prohibited monasteries, in order to cut them off from one method of growing richer. Friars they rather encouraged, in order to lessen population, and to leave upon families, a number of unmarried women, than which nothing can be a greater burden, as is sadly experienced in protestant countries.

Convents should be laid under such restrictions, that what is intended as a solemn religious institution, may not become so common as to lose its effect, and be reckoned a profession for the dull or the indolent.

Under proper restrictions, it must be for the advantage of religion, to have a few venerable sanctuaries, for the reception of those, who

having done their duty to ſociety, are ſo much raiſed above the world, that they would chooſe entirely to devote the evening of life, to pious contemplation and prayer; not to mention thoſe, whoſe paſſions have hurried them into offences, for which they ſincerely reſolve, by a courſe of abſtraction, of penitence and of voluntary auſterities (*a*), to make expiation to the eternal juſtice of the DIVINITY.

From Paoli's care and attention to the good of his country, it is probable the number of convents in Corſica will be reduced. The preſent fathers indeed, are well entitled to a peaceable poſſeſſion, during their lives; but regulations may be made to prevent many noviciates, eſpecially of very young perſons.

The Corſican clergy, and particularly the monks, have been warmly intereſted for the patriots. Padre Leonardo, a Franciſcan, and one of the profeſſours of the univerſity of Corte, hath publiſhed a little tract, a 'Diſcorſo Sacro-Civile,' teaching that thoſe who fall in battle for their country, are to be conſidered as martyrs. This diſcourſe hath

(*a*) See that majeſtick teacher of moral and religious wiſdom, the Rambler, number 110.

had great effect. We know what force of mind that doctrine hath given to the Turks and to the Ruſſians. Indeed, that patriotiſm is a virtue which merits heaven, was held by Cicero. 'Omnibus qui patriam conſervaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certus eſt 'in coelo et definitus locus, ubi beati aevo 'ſempiterno fruantur (*a*). For thoſe who 'have preſerved, aſſiſted and aggrandized 'their country, there is a certain and fixed 'place in heaven, where they are bleſt with 'the enjoyment of eternal life."

The warlike force of Corſica principally conſiſts in a bold and reſolute militia: every Corſican has a muſket put into his hand, as ſoon as he is able to carry it; and as there is a conſtant emulation in ſhooting, they become excellent markſmen, and will hit with a ſingle bullet a very ſmall mark at a great diſtance.

There is in every village a Capitano d'arme; and in every pieve, a Commiſſario d'arme, who has the command over all the Capitani d'arme of his diſtrict. Theſe officers are choſen by the General, with the approbation of the people. They are ever ready to receive his orders, and to call out

(*a*) Cic. Somn. Scip.

ſuch a number of men, as he ſhall at any time require for the publick ſervice.

There are in Corſica, but 500 ſoldiers who have pay; 300 for a guard to the General, and 200 to furniſh guards for the magiſtrates of the ſeveral provinces, and to garriſon a few ſmall forts at particular places in the iſland.

A militia is indeed the true ſtrength of a free nation. Rome had no ſoldiers in pay till the 347 year after the building of the city; and then they were introduced by the patricians, to ingratiate themſelves with the people, at a time when the ſenate was embarraſſed with the great influence of the Tribunes (a).

Paoli deviſed a ſingular and excellent method of promoting bravery among his countrymen. He wrote a circular letter to the prieſts of every pariſh in the iſland, deſiring a liſt to be made out of all thoſe who have fallen in battle for their country. The latter was in theſe terms.

(a) Liv. lib. iv. cap. 59.

PASQUALE DE' PAOLI

Generale del Regno di CORSICA.

MOLTO REVERENDO SIGNOR RETTORE,

'PER rendere al publico nota, la virtù e la 'pietà di coloro, che hanno ſparſo il ſangue 'per difendere i diritte e la libertà della pa- 'tria, e per contradiſtinguere il loro merito, 'e farne provare la benigna influenza alle 'loro famiglie, abbiamo ſtabilito farne un 'eſatto e compito catalogo, da darſi alle 'ſtampe, quale ſiccome potrà giovare ancora 'alla ſtoria della nazione. Ella come ret- 'tore dovendo più d'ogni altro eſſere al fatto 'delle coſe della ſua parrocchia, ſi prenderà 'volentieri l'incommodo di coadiuvarci in 'queſto diſegno, e ſarà contenta informan- 'doſi dai più vecchi aſſennati del paeſe, ſeg- 'narci i nomi e la famiglia di coloro che vi 'ſono morti, o reſtati feriti in ſervizio della 'patria, dal 1729 a queſta parte, notando 'colla maggior preciſione il luogo, il meſe 'e l'anno &c.

PASCAL PAOLI

General of the Kingdom of CORSICA.

VERY REVEREND RECTOUR,

'TO make known to the publick, the bravery and piety of thoſe, who have ſhed their blood in defending the rights and the liberty of our country, and to diſtinguiſh their merit, and make their families prove its benign influence, we have reſolved to make an exact and compleat catalogue of thoſe heroes, and have it printed, ſo that it may alſo be of uſe towards compoſing a hiſtory of our nation. You, Sir, as Rectour, being better acquainted than any body elſe, with the affairs of your own pariſh, it is expected that you will willingly take the trouble to aſſiſt us in this deſign; and for that purpoſe you will inform yourſelf of the oldeſt and moſt judicious in the village, and get them to tell you the names and families of ſuch as have been killed or wounded in the ſervice of their country, from 1729 to the preſent time; and you will mark with the greateſt preciſion, the place, the month and the year, &c.'

The prieſts have been very regular in making returns in conſequence of this letter. No inſtitution was ever better contrived. It might be adopted by every nation, as it would give double courage to ſoldiers, who would have their fame preſerved, and at the ſame time leave to their relations the valuable legacy of a claim to the kindneſs of the ſtate.

I have often wondered how the love of fame carries the common ſoldiers of our armies, into the midſt of the greateſt dangers; when all that they do is hardly known even to their relations, and never heard of in any publick manner.

The Corſicans are not yet much trained, as they have been acting chiefly upon the defenſive, and carrying on a ſort of irregular war. But now that they are advancing faſt to a total victory over their enemies, a certain degree of diſcipline becomes neceſſary.

A Corſican is armed with a gun, a piſtol and a ſtiletto. He wears a ſhort coat, of a very coarſe dark cloth, made in the iſland, with waiſtcoat and breeches of the ſame, or of French or Italian cloth, eſpecially ſcarlet. He has a cartridge-box or pouch for his ammunition, fixed round his middle, by

a belt. Into this pouch his ſtiletto is ſtuck; and on the left ſide of his belt he hangs his piſtol. His gun is ſlung acroſs his ſhoulder. He wears black leather ſpatterdaſhes, and a ſort of bonnet of black cloth, lined with red frieze, and ornamented on the front, with a piece of ſome finer ſtuff neatly ſewed about. This bonnet is peculiar to the Corſicans, and is a very ancient piece of dreſs: it is doubled up on every ſide, and when let down, is preciſely the figure of a helmet, like thoſe we ſee on Trajan's pillar. The Corſican dreſs is very convenient for traverſing the woods and mountains; and gives a man an active and warlike appearance.

The ſoldiers have no uniform; nor have the Corſicans any drums, trumpets, fifes, or any inſtrument of warlike muſick, except a large Triton ſhell pierced in the end, with which they make a ſound loud enough to be heard at a great diſtance. The ſhell would more properly be uſed at ſea. Virgil repreſents Triton,

coerula concha
Exterrens fretа. Æneid. lib. x. l. 209.

Frowning he seems his crooked shell to sound,
And at the blast the billows dance around.

DRYDEN.

Colonel Montgomery has told me, that the shell is used in America, particularly in Carolina. Its sound is not shrill, but rather flat like that of a large horn. It has however some resemblance to that of the Roman Lituus. Sir John Cuninghame of Caprinton has shewn me a Lituus in his possession, of which mention is made in Blaeu's Atlas (*a*). It was dug up in an ancient field of battle at Coilsfield in Ayrshire, and served the old barons of Caprinton to call together their followers.

As the Corsicans advance in improvement, they will certainly adopt the practice of having warlike instruments of musick, the effects of which have been very great in ancient times, as we are assured by Polybius, a judicious and grave historian, a careful observer of human nature, and a man not too much given to credulity. Even in modern armies we find considerable effects produced by them.

The Corsicans make a good many guns and pistols, most of which are of excellent

(*a*) Blaeu's Atlas, p. 71. Province de Aire.

workmanship. They also make great quantities of powder; but they have as yet no foundery for cannon. These they have either taken from their enemies, or purchased from abroad, or fished from the wrecks of vessels lost in their seas. Neither do they yet make their own bullets; they bring them from the continent, or take them from the Genoese, at whose expence they have contrived to carry on the war. A Corsican told me that they did not use a great many bullets, because, said he, 'Il Corso non tira, se non è sicuro del suo colpo. A Corsican does not fire, if he is not sure of his aim.'

They are certainly designed by nature to be strong at sea, having so many good harbours, and so much excellent timber; but they are not yet sufficiently skilled in the art of ship-building; nor have they money sufficient to defray the expence of employing proper artificers. They have however a number of small ships, and some of a tolerable size; and their naval affairs are conducted with great prudence and spirit, by Count Peres, who may be stiled High Admiral of Corsica.

We have seen how rich Corsica naturally

is in many productions; ſo that there is no queſtion but this iſland might carry on a pretty extenſive commerce, in oil, wine, honey, bees-wax, ſalt, cheſtnuts, ſilk, roſin, boxwood, oak, pine, porphyry, marble of various kinds, lead, iron, copper, ſilver and coral. At preſent, commerce is but beginning to flouriſh among them. They find in their ſeas conſiderable quantities of coral, of all the three kinds, red, white and black. The Jews of Leghorn, who have eſtabliſhed there a coral manufactory, have a ſort of excluſive privilege, from the Corſicans, to this trade; and in return are very ſerviceable to the nation, by advancing them money, and ſupplying them with cannon.

The Corſicans may make plenty of admirable wines, for their grapes are excellent. They make in Capo Corſo two very good white wines; one of them has a great reſemblance to Malaga. A deal of it is annually exported to Germany, and ſold as ſuch; and ſome of it is bought up at Leghorn, and carried to England, where it paſſes equally well for the production of Spain. The other of theſe white wines is ſomething like Frontignac.

At Furiani they make a white wine very like Syracuſe, not quite ſo luſcious, and

upon the whole, preferable to it. Furiani is famous in the Corſican annals, for a violent ſiege, where 500 Genoeſe were repulſed and defeated by 300 Corſicans.

In ſome villages, they make a rich ſweet wine much reſembling Tokay. At Veſcovato and at Campoloro, they make wine very like Burgundy; and over the whole iſland there are wines of different ſorts. It is indeed wonderful, what a difference a little variation of ſoil or expoſure, even in the ſame vineyard, will make in the taſte of wine. The juice of the Corſican grapes is ſo generous, that although unſkilfully manufactured, it will always pleaſe by its natural flavour.

I think there might be a wine made in Corſica of a good ſound moderate quality, ſomething between Claret and Burgundy, which would be very proper for this country. But the Corſicans have been ſo harraſſed for a number of years, that they have had no leiſure to improve themſelves in any art or manufacture. I am however aſſured, that the exportation of oil has amounted in one year to 2,500,000 French livres, and that of cheſtnuts to 100,000 crowns of the ſame money.

We may expect to see the Corſicans diſtinguiſh themſelves as a commercial nation. Trade has always flouriſhed moſt in republican governments, as in Tyre, Sydon and Carthage, in ancient times; Venice, Genoa, Lucca and the United Provinces, in modern times. This is fully illuſtrated by the great John de Witt, penſioner of Holland (*a*), whoſe reflections were the reſult of the ſoundeſt ſenſe and a long experience.

Nothing has caſt a greater damp upon the improvements of Corſica, than the King of Great Britain's proclamation after the late peace, forbidding his ſubjects to have any intercourſe with that nation. What may have been the reaſons of ſtate for ſuch a proclamation, I cannot take upon me to ſay. It does not become me to look behind the veil, and pry into the ſecrets of government. This much I may venture to aſſert, that a good correſpondence with Corſica would be of no ſmall advantage to the commercial intereſt of this country, were it only on account of our fiſh-trade and our woolen manufactures; not to mention the various other articles of traffick which would turn out to our mutual profit.

(*a*) De Witt's Intereſt of Holland, part II.

I know that if it had not been for this proclamation, the Corſicans would, at the cloſe of the laſt war, have had ſeveral of our ſtouteſt privateers in their ſervice, which would have effectually overawed the Genoeſe; and given the brave iſlanders an authority at ſea, which could not have failed to make them very reſpectable. And ſurely it would be worthy of a people whom the felicity of freedom has rendered generous, to afford their countenance to a race of heroes, who have done ſo much to ſecure to themſelves the ſame bleſſings, eſpecially when our ſhewing this generoſity would greatly coincide with the commercial intereſts of theſe kingdoms.

It has been ſaid, that it was the Duke de Nivernois, who had intereſt enough with our miniſters, to obtain the proclamation in favour of the Genoeſe. Some politicians have expreſt their ſurpriſe, that Great Britain ſhould have favoured Genoa, which is always attached to the French; and when it is notorious, that without its aſſiſtance, the French could not have fitted out that fleet at Toulon, which enabled them to take Minorca; that the Genoeſe continued building ſhips for them, during the whole of the

laſt war, and conſtantly ſupplied them with ſeamen: whereas the Corſicans, as lovers of liberty, muſt naturally have a reſpect for the Britiſh, as indeed is the caſe.

We may hope that other views will prevail in the councils of this nation. A Sovereign poſſeſſed of every virtue, who is animated with genuine ſentiments of liberty, and who feels the joy of making his own people happy, would naturally wiſh to extend his beneficence.

Agriculture is as yet in a very imperfect ſtate in Corſica. Their inſtruments of huſbandry are ill made; and they do not make the beſt uſe of what they have. Their plowing is but ſcratching the ſurface of the earth; and they hardly know any thing of the advantages of manure, though they can be at no loſs for ſufficient quantities of it. This general obſervation is not incompatible with the large produce of ſeveral parts of the iſland, where a greater degree of fertility, and ſome more induſtry and attention to culture than uſual are to be found.

The ſupreme council appoints two or more perſons in each province, to ſuperintend the cultivation of the lands, and to take the moſt effectual meaſures for promoting

it; and in particular, to encourage the planting of mulberry trees, as it is certain, that Corſica may be made to produce a great deal of ſilk. As gardening has been almoſt totally neglected, there is a late ordinance by which every man who poſſeſſes a garden, or other encloſure, is obliged to ſow every year, peaſe, beans and all ſorts of garden-ſtuff, and not leſs than a pound of each, under the penalty of four livres, to be exacted by the Podeſtà.

The ſupreme council alſo appoints two conſuls, to inſpect the kind and the price of the various ſorts of merchandiſe in the iſland; and to watch over every thing that can tend towards the advancement of commerce.

Proviſions are not dear in Corſica. Their prices at a medium are as follows.

A labouring ox, about 80 livres.

A cow, from 20 to 30 livres.

A horſe of the beſt quality, from 100 to 140 livres.

A mare, from 70 to 80 livres.

An aſs, from 20 to 25 livres.

A ſheep, about 4 livres.

A partridge, 4 ſous.

Thruſhes and blackbirds, 2 ſous each.

Beef, 2 ſous a pound.

Mutton, ¾ ſous a pound.

The beſt fiſh, 2 ſous a pound.

Ordinary fiſh, 1 ſou a pound.

Wine, 4 ſous a flaſk of 6 lib. wt.

The money of Corſica is of the ſame value as that of Tuſcany.

Oil is ſold in barrels valued from 40 to 50 livres. A barrel contains 20 pints. A pint contains 4 quarts.

Wine is ſold in barrels of 12 zuchas. The zucha contains 9 large Florence flaſks.

Grain is ſold by the buſhel. The buſhel contains 12 bacini. The bacino weighs about 20 pounds. The ſack or buſhel ſells at 18 livres.

The Corſican pound weight is alſo the ſame with that of Tuſcany.

The government is gradually taking care to eſtabliſh an uniformity in weights and meaſures.

The wages of a tradeſman, or of a day-labourer, are a livre a day, and victuals and drink.

If a tradeſman is particularly ingenious in his profeſſion, he has ſomething more.

Reapers have no wages in money; but be-

ſides their victuals, each gets a bacino of the grain which he cuts down.

The manufactures of Corſica are as yet very rude. I have obſerved that their wool is exceedingly coarſe, and generally black, and that of this they make but a thick heavy cloth. The pure black is the moſt valuable: when a little white wool is mixed with it, the cloth is not ſo much eſteemed, being of a ruſſet grey, or brown duſky colour. They import all their fine cloth; for beſides that there is not a ſufficient quantity of wool for the ſervice of the iſland, the Corſicans have not learned to make any thing elſe of it, but the coarſe cloth I have mentioned.

In Sardinia they make coverings for beds and carpets of various colours, beſides many different ſtuffs for clothes. When the Corſicans have more leiſure, they will probably imitate their neighbours, in thoſe arts. Indeed over the greateſt part of Italy, none but the very peaſants wear home-made cloth; and if in ſome places they make cloth of a finer kind, it is made of foreign wool imported from different countries.

A good deal of flax grows in Corſica; and no doubt abundance of it might be raiſed.

I expected to have found there, if not the fine webs of Holland, Ireland and Scotland, at leaſt plenty of good, ſtrong, houſehold linnen. But, in reality, the Corſicans are as yet ſo backward, that they hardly make any linnen at all, which occaſions a very expenſive importation.

A Corſican gentleman obſerved to me, 'If 'we had in our kingdom ſuch an inſtitution 'as the Dublin Society, and a Doctor Samuel 'Madden to give praemiums to thoſe who 'diſtinguiſh themſelves in manufactures, as 'is done in the capital of Ireland, we might 'ſoon bring our linnen to ſome perfection, 'as well as other branches.'

The Corſicans have plenty of oil for their lamps, which is the light they generally uſe. They alſo make wax candles, and a few tallow ones; for, as I have formerly remarked, their cattle do not yield much fat.

There is plenty of leather in the iſland. Many of the peaſants juſt harden the hides in the air, particularly the wild-boar-ſkins, and have their ſhoes made of them without being tanned. This they are under no temptation of doing, but that of poverty and lazineſs, for the art of tanning is very well underſtood in Corſica, and the materi-

als for it are in such abundance, that a great deal of bark is carried over to Italy. The Corsicans have a method of tanning with the leaves of wild laurel, dried in the sun, and beaten into a powder. This gives a sort of greenish colour to the leather. Certainly various expedients may be used, to serve the purpose of tanning. In the island of St. Kilda, they tan with the tormentil root (a).

The state of learning in Corsica may well be imagined at a very low ebb, since it was the determined purpose of Genoa to keep the inhabitants of this island in the grossest ignorance; and the confusions and distresses of war have left them no leisure to attend to any kind of study. Inter arma silent leges. 'Laws are silent amidst the din of arms,' is an old observation; and it may be justly applied to the muses, whom war frightens away from every country.

Paoli and the wisest of the nation, with whom he consults, very soon considered, that to bring the people of Corsica to such a state as it might be hoped their freedom would last, and be carried down pure and generous to posterity, it would be necessary to enlarge their minds with the participation

(a) M'Aulay's History of St. Kilda, p. 214.

of true ſcience, and to furniſh them with ſound and rational principles, by which the conſtitution might be held together in firmneſs.

Therefore, after long deliberation, it was at laſt reſolved in the year 1764, to eſtabliſh an univerſity in the city of Corte; upon which occaſion a manifeſto (*a*) was publiſhed, recalling to the people of Corſica, the barbarous policy of Genoa, in keeping them in ignorance; and informing them of the eſtabliſhments, which the parental care of the government had formed for their inſtruction.

This manifeſto was no vain diſplay of what could not be performed. Paoli had been at the greateſt pains to collect the moſt knowing men in the iſland; and many learned Corſicans eſtabliſhed in foreign ſtates, were diſintereſted and patriotick enough, to accept of the ſmall emoluments which Corte could afford. They thought themſelves amply rewarded, in having an opportunity to contribute to the happineſs of their native country, by reſcuing it from the Genoeſe darkneſs, which was worſe than that of the Goths, and enlightening thoſe heroes whoſe untutored patriotiſm had ſhone with ſuch luſtre.

(*a*) Appendix. N° VI.

The profeſſours in the univerſity of Corte, are mostly fathers of different religious orders. They are indefatigable in their labours, and the youth of Corſica diſcover the ſame keenneſs of ſpirit in their ſtudies, which characteriſes them in arms. There are at Corte, ſome pretty good halls, where the profeſſours give their lectures. But it cannot be expected that they ſhould as yet have any thing like the regular buildings of a college. The ſtudents are boarded in the town.

Under the head of learning, I muſt obſerve that there is a printing-houſe at Corte, and a bookſeller's ſhop, both kept by a Lucceſe, a man of ſome capacity in his buſineſs. He has very good types; but he prints nothing more than the publick manifeſtoes, calendars of feaſt-days, and little practical devotional pieces, as alſo the Corſican Gazette, which is publiſhed by authority, from time to time, juſt as news are collected; for it contains nothing but the news of the iſland. It admits no foreign intelligence, nor private anecdotes; ſo that there will ſometimes be an interval of three months, during which no news-papers are publiſhed.

It will be long before the Corſicans arrive at the refinement in conducting a news-

paper, of which London affords an unparalleled perfection; for, I do believe, an English news-paper is the most various and extraordinary compoſition that mankind ever produced. An Engliſh news-paper, while it informs the judicious of what is really doing in Europe, can keep pace with the wildeſt fancy in feigned adventures, and amuſe the moſt deſultory taſte with eſſays on all ſubjects, and in every ſtile.

There are in Corſica, ſeveral treatiſes of political controverſy, ſaid in the title to be printed at Corte; but they are in reality printed at Lucca, or at Leghorn. In ſome of theſe treatiſes, of which I have a pretty numerous collection, the authours, with much care and thought, labour to prove to a demonſtration, that the Corſicans muſt be free. Their writings are a good deal in the ſtile of the profound tracts for and againſt the hereditary and indefeaſible right of kings, with which all the libraries in this country were filled in the laſt age. Authorities are heaped upon authorities, to eſtabliſh the plaineſt propoſitions; and as the poet ſays, they

quote the Stagyrite
To prove that ſmoke aſcends and ſnow is white.

MALLET.

The natural and divine prerogatives of liberty need not the aid of logick, which has been so successfully employed by the advocates for slavery, To darken counsel by words without knowledge.

The genius and character of the inhabitants of Corsica deserve to be particularly considered, because some authours in ancient times, and the emissaries of Genoa in modern times, have represented them in the most unfavourable light.

In Muratori Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. 24. we find Petrus Cyrnaeus de Rebus Corsicis, in four books. This Petrus was a priest of the diocese of Aleria, in the fifteenth century. His family name was Tilice, but he chose to take to himself, the learned denomination of Cyrnaeus, from Cyrnus the Greek name of his native island. He was very poor, and sought a livelihood, in different parts of Italy, as a sort of pedagogue, and sojourned long at Venice as a corrector of the press. At last having returned to his mother country, he very piously composed its history, which he brings down to the year 1516.

The only manuscript of this little work is in the King of France's library; and Mu-

rator published it in 1738, whom, says he, 'Corsi ferocium atque agrestium hominum 'genus, et in seditionem facile pronum, se-'renissimae Genuensium reipublicae, conver-'sis in rebellionem animis, a multo tempore 'negotium non leve facessunt. The Corsi-'cans a rustick ferocious race of men, and 'very prone to sedition, having turned their 'minds to rebellion, have now of a long time 'given no small trouble to the most serene 'republick of Genoa.' And he adds, 'Qua-'lem Petrus Cyrnaeus gentem suam descri-'bit, perpetuis contentionibus ac turbis fluc-'tuantem, talem presens quoque aetas ag-'noscit ac sentit. Such as Petrus Cyrnaeus 'describes his nation fluctuating with per-'petual contests and tumults, such the pre-'sent age sees and acknowledges them.'

Petrus stands greatly up for the honour of the island. He insists that a son of Hercules reigned there. Strabo (*a*) tells us that a son of Hercules settled in Sardinia, which I suppose has given occasion to the same report concerning Corsica. As Livy says, 'Datur haec venia antiquitati ut primor-'dia urbium augustiora faciat (*b*). 'Anti-

(*a*) Strabo, lib. v. cap. 225.
(*b*) Liv. in Prooem.

quity is indulged with a privilege of rendering the beginnings of states more august.'

Petrus is a moſt enthuſiaſtick patriot. He has no patience with Strabo, who notwithſtanding the favourable account given of Corſica by Diodorus Siculus, hath choſen to convey the worſt idea both of the country and of its inhabitants. Petrus declares, that one principal reaſon for his writing is, 'quia 'Strabonis mendacia vulgata eſſe video, be-'cauſe I find Strabo's lies are gone abroad.' And exclaims with all the fury of a true ſon of Hercules; 'Quum totam inſulam lace-'raverit, non expoſtulemus? non accuſe-'mus? non graviter feramus? * * * Quod 'ſi ego tacerem, nonne parietes domus ubi 'natus ſum, nonne civitas ubi educatus ſum 'exclamarent? When he hath torn to 'pieces the whole iſland, ſhall we not ex-'poſtulate? Shall we not accuſe? Shall 'we not be provoked? * * * But if I ſhould 'be ſilent, would not the walls of the houſe 'where I was born, would not the city 'where I was educated cry out?'

It is indeed ſtrange to find two ſuch authours as Strabo and Diodorus, differing ſo widely, and ſeemingly contradicting each

other. Strabo says, ἡ δὲ Κύρνος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται Κόρσικα. Οἰκεῖται δὲ φαύλως, τραχεῖα τε οὖσα, καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι δύσβατα, τελέως ὥστε τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἀπὸ λῃστηριῶν ζῶντας, ἀγριωτέρους εἶναι θηρίων. ὁπόταν γοῦν ὁρμήσωσιν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Στρατηγοὶ καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς ἐρύμασι, πολὺ πλῆθος ἕλωσι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, ὁρᾷν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ὅσον ἐμφαίνεται τὸ θηριῶδες καὶ τὸ βοσκηματῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομένουσι ζῆν ἢ ζῶντες ἀπαθείᾳ καὶ ἀναισθησίᾳ τοὺς ὠνησαμένους ἐπιτρίβουσιν ὥστε καίπερ τὸ τυχὸν καταβάλλουσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅμως μέταμελειν. Strabo. lib. v. cap. 224. 'But Cyrnus is by the Romans 'called Corsica. It is ill inhabited, being 'rugged, and in most places difficult of 'access; so that those who dwell on the 'mountains, and live by robberies, are 'wilder than even wild beasts. Therefore 'when the Roman generals make irruptions 'into their country, and falling upon their 'strong-holds, carry off numbers of these 'people, and bring them to Rome, it is 'wonderful to see what wildness and bru-'tality the creatures discover. For, they 'either are impatient of life, and lay violent 'hands on themselves; or if they do live, 'it is in such a state of stupefaction and in-

sensibility, that those who purchase them for slaves have a very bad bargain, though they pay very little money for them, and sorely regret their happening to fall into their hands. So far Strabo.

Diodorus on the other hand says, Τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα τὰ Κύρνια διαφέρειν δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων δούλων εἰς τὰς καθ' ὁτὸν βίον χρείας, φυσικῆς ταύτης τῆς ἰδιότητος παρακολουθούσης * * * * τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους βίοσιν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως παρὰ πάντας ἔχουσι τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους * * * * ἔν τε ταῖς ἄλλοις ταῖς ἐν βίῳ καθ' μέρος οἰκονομίαις θαυμαστῶς προσιμῶσι τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν. Diod. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 224. 'The Corsican slaves seem to differ from all others, in their utility for the offices of life, for which they are fitted by a peculiar gift of nature. * * * * These islanders live amongst themselves with a humanity and justice beyond all other barbarians. * * * * In every part of the oeconomy of life, they shew a remarkable regard to equity.'

Mr. Burnaby thinks these very different accounts may be reconciled, by supposing the authours to speak of the Corsicans, under different points of view; Strabo as of

enemies, Diodorus as of friends; and then they will not only be found reconcileable, but will exactly correſpond with the character of the Corſicans at preſent. In war, they are furious as lions. Death is eſteemed nothing, nor is any power ſufficient to make them yield againſt their inclination; they become irritated, and will not brook reſtraint (*a*). Whereas in peace, and in civil life, they are mild and juſt to the greateſt degree, and have all thoſe amiable qualities which Diodorus aſcribes to them. Where their ſervice is voluntary too, or they are attached to their maſters, by kind and gentle treatment, they have the other perfections which he allows them.

My Lord Hailes thinks that there is properly no contradiction between theſe illuſtrious authours; ſince Strabo has not thrown any abuſe upon the Corſicans in general. He has only talked in ſtrong terms, of the barbarity of ſuch of them, as inhabit the mountains and live by robberies,

(*a*) What Mr. Burnaby ſays of the Corſicans puts me in mind of an admirable obſervation of Sir Thomas Blount: 'You may ſtroke the lion into tameneſs; but you ſhall ſooner hew him into pieces, than beat him into a chain.' Sir Tho. Pope Blount's Eſſays, edit. Lond. 1697, p. 65.

juſt as if writing concerning Scotland in former lawleſs times, he had ſaid, the Highlanders there are a very wild ſet of men.

My Lord Monboddo thinks, there is nothing more required to reconcile theſe different characters of the Corſican ſlaves, but to ſuppoſe that thoſe which Diodorus had occaſion to obſerve, were well treated, and thoſe which Strabo had occaſion to obſerve, were ill treated. For, good or bad treatment was ſufficient to make the Corſicans appear either of the one character, or of the other; as we may ſee in many barbarous nations at this day.

But I ſhall ſuppoſe an univerſal ferociouſneſs in the Corſicans, and I think it may well be juſtified, conſidering the treatment which that brave people have met with from their oppreſſours. For, it is juſtly ſaid by the philoſopher of Malmſbury, 'Propter 'malorum pravitatem, recurrendum etiam 'bonis eſt, ſi ſe tueri volunt, ad virtutes 'bellicas, vim et dolum, id eſt ad ferinam 'rapacitatem (*a*). By reaſon of the wicked oppreſſion of the bad, even a good people, muſt in ſelf-defence, have recourſe to the qualities of war, force and fraud, nay to a kind of ſavage rapacity.

(*a*) Hobbes de Cive. Epiſt. Dedic.

Petrus Cyrnaeus lays it down as a fixed principle, 'Universi Corsi liberi sunt, et propriis vivunt legibus. All Corsicans are free, and live by their own laws.' And he gives this noble eulogium to his country, 'Corsica semper alumna paupertatis, hospes 'virtutis, misericors erga omnes, quam asci- 'vit a severa disciplina quam usurpat * et 'paupertatem tuetur et liberalitatem. Cor- 'sica ever nurtured by poverty, to whom 'virtue is a welcome guest, compassionate 'to all, maintains that poverty and genero- 'sity which she hath learned from the hardy 'discipline to which she is inured.'

A FRIEND.

The fourth book of Petrus Cyrnaeus is entirely taken up with an account of his own wretched vagabond life, full of strange, whimsical anecdotes. He begins it very gravely, 'Quoniam ad hunc locum perven- 'tum est, non alienum videtur, de Petri 'qui haec scripsit, vita et moribus propo- 'nere. Since we are come thus far, it will 'not be amiss, to say something of the life 'and manners of Petrus who writeth this

* Muratori has it 'usurpant,' which will not make sense. The text has certainly been corrupted. I am obliged to a learned friend for correcting it to 'usurpat.'

history. He gives a very excellent character of himself; and I dare say a very faithful one. But so minute is his narration, that he takes care to inform posterity, that he was very irregular in his method of walking, and that he preferred sweet wine to hard. In short he was a man of considerable parts, with a great simplicity and oddity of character.

I shall now take leave of honest Petrus; with whom perhaps some of my readers will choose to cultivate a farther acquaintance.

The Corsicans are naturally quick and lively, and have a particular turn for eloquence. Hieronymus de Marinis (*a*) gives them this character, 'Montes apum examinibus abundant, et lacte ac melle manant: 'apte etiam ad Corsorum ingenium, qui sub 'lingua, cum lacte et melle, habent aculeum, adeoque foro nati sunt. Their 'mountains abound in swarms of bees, and 'flow with milk and honey; like the genius 'of the Corsicans, who while they have milk 'and honey under their tongues, have also 'a sting, and are therefore born for the forum.'

I have in my possession two Corsican dis-

(*a*) Graev. Thesaur. Antiq. vol. I. p. 1410.

courſes, or popular harangues, which afford ſpecimens of their eloquence. The one is entitled 'La Corſica a Suoi Figli, Corſica to her ſons:' the other 'La Corſica a ſuoi Figli Sleali, Corſica to her Diſloyal Sons.'

In the firſt of theſe harangues, the patriots are thus encouraged to proceed in the glorious cauſe. 'Seguitate voi dunque l'eſempio dei ſalvatori della lor patria, e ſiate ſicuri, che la libertà ſarà il premio delle voſtre fatiche; e che all' ombra amena della libertà, racoglierete i ſoavi frutti di ſicurezza, e di pace, di abondanza, e di contentezza; di avanzamento, e di gloria. Frutti, che vi riuſceranno tanto più dolci, quanto più lungamente ne ſiete ſtati fuor di raggione privati dalla malignità dei voſtri oppreſſori. Follow then the example of the ſaviours of their country; and be aſſured that liberty will be the reward of your toils; and that under the pleaſing ſhade of liberty, you will gather the agreeable fruits of ſecurity, of peace, of abundance and of contentment, of exaltation and of glory. Fruits which will be the ſweeter to you, the longer you have been unreaſonably deprived of them, by the malignity of your oppreſſours.'

In the ſecond of theſe harangues, ſuch of the nation as ſhewed any wavering or timidity, are thus rouſed againſt the Genoeſe. ‘ Ecco la potenza che ſi vorrebbe in-
‘ durvi a temere. Voi l'avete ſprezzata, e
‘ ne avete trionfato nel tempo della voſtra
‘ maggior debolezza, nel tempo ch'eravate
‘ ſproveduti d'armi, di munizioni, di baſti-
‘ menti, di porti, di finanze, e di truppa
‘ pagata ; nel tempo che i voſtri capi erano
‘ novizii nel governo militare e politico, ci-
‘ vile ed economico, e che tutti queſti go-
‘ verni riuſcivano loro gravi e diſpendioſi ;
‘ nel tempo che i partiti alzavano ardita-
‘ mente la creſta, e da per tutto alla ſcoperta
‘ ſeminavano la zizania ; che la parte oltra-
‘ montana era dalla ciſmontana independente
‘ e diviſa ; che il dominio della nazione era
‘ mal ſicuro e mal noto. Ora poi, che con
‘ un cambiamento felice, ſiete proveduti a
‘ ſoprabbondanza, d'armi e munizioni; a ſuf-
‘ ficienza, di baſtimenti e di porti ; che avete
‘ ſtabilita la truppa ed i fondi per la ſua ſuſ-
‘ ſiſtenza ; liberi perciò dagl'incommodi di
‘ molte ſpedizioni, e da i diſordini che la
‘ truppa colletiva portava ſeco ; che avete
‘ inſtituite le voſtre finanze ; che i voſtri
‘ capi ſi trovano molto meglio iſtruite ; che

i governi più non sono dispendiosi; che i partiti sono tutti abbattuti, che il governo nazionale è ubidito da tutt' i ceti della nazione, è temuto dagli stessi nemici, e ci comincia a riconoscer dagli esteri; che le parti cismontane ed oltramontane son tutte unite sotto a un sol Capo; e sotto ad un Capo (lo dirò ad onta della malignità e dell' invidia) che per savieza e antivedimento, per zelo e disinteresse, per coraggio e valore, per rettitudine d'intenzione, di fini, e di massime, non cede ad alcuno de' più celebri eroi: ora, dissi, in uno stato che per voi non fu mai sì forte e sì florido, e che vi promette, se sarete nel vostro impegno costanti, una gloria immortale, una indipendenza totale, una perpetua felicità temerete voi della republica la vana, la deplorabile, la meschina potenza?

'Behold the power which they would 'have you to fear. You have despised, you 'have triumphed over it, in the time of 'your greatest weakness; in the time that 'you were unprovided with arms, with 'ammunition, with ships, with harbours, 'with finances and with troops. At a time 'when your chiefs were novices in govern-'ment, whether military or political, and

'when all these branches of government were heavy and expensive to them: At a 'time when factions audaciously held high 'their crests, and in every quarter openly 'sowed sedition. When the country be-'yond the mountains was independent, and 'divided from the country on this side of 'the mountains; when the dominion of 'the nation was insecure and little known. 'And, when by a happy change in affairs, 'you are abundantly provided with arms and 'ammunition, and are sufficiently accom-'modated with ships and harbours; when 'you have established troops, and funds for 'their subsistence; when you have regulated 'your finances, when your chiefs find them-'selves much better instructed, when go-'vernment is no longer so expensive; when 'all the factions are quelled; when the na-'tional government is obeyed by all ranks 'in the kingdom, feared by our very ene-'mies, and beginning to be acknowledged 'by foreign states: when the countries both 'on this, and on the other side of the 'mountains are all united under one Chief, 'and under a Chief, (I will say it to the 'shame of malignity and of envy) who for 'wisdom and foresight, for zeal and disin-

'tereſtedneſs, for courage and valour, for 'the rectitude of his intentions, views and 'maxims, does not yield to any of the moſt 'famous heroes. Now, I ſay, when you 'are in a ſituation more ſtrong and flouriſh-'ing than ever, and which if you are con-'ſtant in your undertakings, promiſes you 'immortal glory, a total independence and 'a perpetual felicity; ſhall you be afraid of 'the vain, the pitiful, the contemptible 'power of the republick?'

The language of the Corſicans is remarkably good Italian, tinctured a little with ſome remains of the dialects of the barbarous nations, and with a few Genoeſe corruptions, but much purer than in many of the Italian ſtates. Their pronunciation however is ſomewhat coarſe. They give in particular a broad ſound to the vowel E which diſpleaſed me a good deal. That the Corſicans write Italian in a great degree of perfection may be ſeen from ſome quotations in the courſe of this account, as well as from the manifeſtoes ſubjoined in the appendix.

The Corſicans have all a turn for the arts. I cannot indeed ſay that painting has yet flouriſhed among them; but they ſuc-

ceed well in muſick and poetry. There are few of them who do not play upon the citra, an old Mooriſh inſtrument, which they are pleaſed to think the ancient cythara. It has a ſweet and romantick ſound, and many of their airs are tender and beautiful.

They have not yet produced any large and finiſhed poem. But they have many little pieces exceedingly pretty, moſt of them on war or on love. Old Giacinto Paoli, father to the preſent General, has left ſeveral ſonnets compoſed with great ſpirit. I have a good many of them; and ſhall inſert one, of which I have attempted a tranſlation. It was compoſed in praiſe of his brother-commander General Giafferi, upon occaſion of a victory obtained by him over the Genoeſe, at the ſiege of Cordone; and while it gives a ſpecimen of the talents of the venerable Chief, it at the ſame time ſhews his generous ſatisfaction at the ſucceſs of another engaged in the ſame glorious cauſe.

SONETTO.

A coronar l'Eroe di Cirno invitto,
Morte diſcenda e ſe l'inchini il fato;
E di ſoſpiri del Ligure ſconfitto
Diano alla tromba della Fama il fiato.

Fatto appena di Golo il bel trajitto,
Del nemico espugna forte steccato;
Sprezzò perigli; e al disugual conflitto,
Virtù prevalse, ov' ci comparve armato.

Cirno lo scelse, e'l suo destin l'arrise;
E'l gran litigio a cui l'Europa è attenta
Al suo valor, al brando suo, commise.

Il brando, ch' anche il destin spaventa,
All' ingrata Liguria il crin recise;
E a Cirno il scetro la sua man presenta.

SONNET.

To crown thy heroes, Cyrnus, from the skies
Lo Fate with joy inclines, descends fierce death!
While vanquish'd Genoa's despairing sighs
Give to Fame's glorious-sounding trumpet breath.

Scarce was the Golo past with courage bright,
The palliſadoed hostile fort to storm,
Dangers he reck'd not in th' unequal fight;
Virtue prevail'd when seen in armed form.

His country chose him, and celestial Fate
Pleas'd to behold the Corsick fire restor'd,
The mighty strife on which the nations wait,
Entrusted to his valour, to his sword.

That sword, at which ev'n Fate recoils with dread,
The vaunting tresses cut with vigour brave,
From the ingrate Ligurian's faithless head;
Cyrnus, to thee his hand the sceptre gave.

They have also many little ballads and madrigals, full of drollery and keen satire

againſt the Genoeſe; and they have their eſſays of grave humour, and various allegories reſpecting themſelves and their enemies. They have in particular a curious paraphraſe of the Lord's Prayer, where all the petitions are ſtrangely turned into ſevere accuſations againſt the Genoeſe.

The character of the Corſicans has been already touched, in the compariſon between Strabo and Diodorus Siculus. They are no doubt a people of ſtrong paſſions, as well as of lively and vigorous minds. Theſe are the materials, of which men are to be formed either good or bad in a ſuperiour degree. I always remember an obſervation which M. Rouſſeau made to me, one day, in the Val de Travers, when we were talking of the characters of different nations; ſaid he, 'J'aime ces caracteres ou il y a de l'etoffe.' It was well ſaid. A poor feeble ſpirit is unable to ſupport the weight of great virtues. It is only where there is ſtrength and fire, that we can hope to form characters of worth and dignity.

Theſe iſlanders have abilities for any thing: but their fortune has been ſuch, that they have been conſpicuous only for the

hard and resolute qualities. Abandoned by the nations around to the oppression of a tyrannical republick, they have had no opportunity of shewing their genius for learning and the arts, their hospitality, their courteousness, and their other amiable virtues in civilized life. What they have had an opportunity to shew, they have shewn with distinguished glory.

The authours of the Encyclopedie say, 'Les Corses sont remuans, vindicatifs, et 'belliqueux. The Corsicans are tumultuous, vindictive and warlike.' Their struggles against the tyrant could shew them in no other light.

A writer of the highest class thus characterises them; 'Les Corses sont une poig-'née d'hommes aussi braves et aussi deliberés 'que les Anglois. On ne les domptera, 'je crois, que par la prudence et la bonté. 'On peut voir par leur exemple, quel cou-'rage et quelle vertu, donne aux hommes 'l'amour de la liberté, et qu'il est dange-'reux et injuste de l'opprimer (a). The Cor-'sicans are a handful of men, as brave and 'as determinate as the English. I believe

(a) Essai de Crit. sur le Prince de Machiavel, p. 114.

'they will not be ſubdued but by prudence and good treatment. We may ſee by their example, what courage and what virtue the love of liberty gives to men; and how dangerous as well as unjuſt it is to oppreſs it.'

The manners of the Corſicans have a great ſimilarity with thoſe of the ancient Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus. They have not however the ſame habit of drinking; for they are extremely temperate. Their morals are ſtrict and chaſte to an uncommon degree, owing in part to good principles unhurt by luxury; and partly to the exerciſe of private revenge againſt ſuch as violate the honour of their women.

This laſt may to ſome appear rude and barbarous; but I hold it to be wiſe and noble. Better occaſional murders than frequent adulteries. Better cut off a rotten branch now and then, than that the whole of the ſociety ſhould be corrupted. When morals are intimately connected with ideas of honour, and crimes of an alluring nature are not committed with impunity, we may expect that mankind will retain a proper awe, and be kept within the bounds of their duty: and if we have not the frivolous embelliſhments and

tranſient pleaſures of licentious gallantry, we are free from its effeminate diſquiets, its ſeveriſh paſſions, its falſeneſs and diſſimulation; while honeſt principles and manly and generous affections are kept in full vigour.

They who think duelling neceſſary to preſerve the nice decorum of politeneſs, ought not to cenſure private revenge, the rough guardian of that virtue which is the ſupport of every community.

What Tacitus ſays of ancient Germany we may ſay of Corſica; 'Nemo illic vitia 'ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi ſæcu-'lum vocatur (*a*). Nobody there laughs at 'vice; nor is corrupting and being corrupt-'ed called the way of the world.'

The Corſicans like the Germans of old, are extremely indolent. The women do the greateſt part of the drudgery work, (*b*) as is alſo the cuſtom among the Scots Highlanders. Yet they are very active in war, like the ſame Germans, of whom Tacitus ſays, 'Mira diverſitate naturæ cum iidem 'homines ſic ament inertiam et oderint 'quietem (*c*). By a wonderful variety of 'nature the ſame men are fond of indolence

(*a*) Tacit. de Mor. Germ. (*b*) Ib. (*c*) Ib.

and impatient of reſt. Notwithſtanding all that Paoli has done, the Corſicans are ſtill indolent and averſe to labour. Every year 800 or 1000 Sardinians and Luccheſe are employed as artificers and day-labourers in the iſland.

M. De Monteſquieu obſerves, that all indolent nations are alſo proud. This is indeed the Caſe of the Corſicans, to which, as I have formerly obſerved, their ſucceſs in war has contributed.

M. De Monteſquieu propoſes a very good remedy for this: 'On purroit tourner l'effet 'contre la cauſe et detruire la pareſſe par 'l'orgueil. Dans le midi de l'Europe, où 'les peuples ſont ſi fort frappés par le point 'd'honneur, il ſeroit bon de donner des prix 'aux laboureurs qui auroient porté plus loin 'leur induſtrie. Cette pratique a reuſſi de 'nos jours en Irlande; elle y a établi une 'des plus importantes manufactures de toile 'qui ſoit en Europe (*a*).

'One might turn the effect againſt the 'cauſe, and deſtroy indolence by pride. In 'the ſouth of Europe, where the people 'are ſo much ſtruck with the point of ho-'nour, it would be right to give premiums,

(*a*) Eſprit des Loix, liv. xiv. chap. 9.

'to the labourers who have beſt cultivated 'their fields, or to artificers who have car-'ried their induſtry the greateſt length. 'This practice hath ſucceeded in our days, 'in Ireland: it hath there eſtabliſhed one 'of the moſt important linen manufactures 'in Europe.'

The Corſicans love much to lie round a fire. This practice ſeems peculiar to rude nations. The Indians in North America do it, and the ancient Germans did it. 'Totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt (*a*). They paſs whole days by the fire.' The Scythians too had this cuſtom.

Ipſi in defoſſis ſpecubus ſecura ſub alta
Otia agunt terra, congeſtaque robora, totaſque
Advolvere focis ulmos, ignique dedere.

VIRG. Georg. iii. l. 376.

In caverns deep with oaks uppil'd, they raiſe,
And many a branching elm, the crackling blaze;
From cold ſecure, around the flaming hearth,
Waſte the long dreary night in ſocial mirth.

WARTON.

There have been many very ſtrange cuſtoms in Corſica. Diodorus tells us, that after the women were brought to bed, the men immediately took care of the children, laying themſelves down as if they were ſick, and fondling the infants, ſo that the mothers

(*a*) Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

had no farther trouble than to give them ſuck (*a*). So great attention to a woman after ſhe has ſuffered ſo much for the good of ſociety, has really ſomething humane in it; though we muſt ſmile at ſuch ſimplicity. We may ſay that it has never been paralleled by all the complaiſance of modern gallantry. But this equitable cuſtom is no longer in uſe.

Petrus Cyrnaeus ſays, that in his time marriage was ſo much honoured among the Corſicans, that if any young woman was ſo poor that nobody aſked her, the neighbours raiſed a contribution to help her to a huſband. Generoſity could never be more properly exerciſed. Epaminondas uſed to exerciſe his generoſity in that way (*a*).

There are ſome extraordinary cuſtoms which ſtill ſubſiſt in Corſica. In particular they have ſeveral ſtrange ceremonies at the death of their relations. When a man dies, eſpecially if he has been aſſaſſinated, his widow with all the married women in the village accompany the corpſe to the grave, where after various howlings, and other

(*a*) Diod. Sicul. Weſſeling. p. 341. (*b*) Corn. Nep. in vit. Epam.

expreſſions of ſorrow, the women fall upon the widow, and beat and tear her in a moſt miſerable manner. Having thus ſatisfied their grief and paſſion, they lead her back again, covered with blood and bruiſes, to her own habitation. This I had no opportunity of ſeeing, while I was in the iſland; but I have it from undoubted authority.

Having ſaid ſo much of the genius and character of the Corſicans, I muſt beg leave to preſent my readers with a very diſtinguiſhed Corſican character, that of Signor Clemente de' Paoli, brother of the General.

This gentleman is the eldeſt ſon of the old General Giacinto Paoli. He is about fifty years of age, of a middle ſize and dark complexion, his eyes are quick and piercing, and he has ſomething in the form of his mouth, which renders his appearance very particular. His underſtanding is of the firſt rate; and he has by no means ſuffered it to lie neglected. He was married, and has an only daughter, the wife of Signor Barbaggi one of the firſt men in the iſland.

For theſe many years paſt, Signor Clemente, being in a ſtate of widowhood, has reſided at Roſtino, from whence the family

of Padis comes. He lives there in a very retired manner. He is of a Saturnine disposition, and his notions of religion are rather gloomy and severe. He spends his whole time in study, except what he passes at his devotions. These generally take up six or eight hours every day; during all which time he is in church, and before the altar, in a fixed posture, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with solemn fervour.

He prescribes to himself, an abstemious rigid course of life; as if he had taken the vows of some of the religious orders. He is much with the Franciscans, who have a convent at Rostino. He wears the common coarse dress of the country, and it is difficult to distinguish him from one of the lowest of the people.

When he is in company he seldom speaks, and except upon important occasions, never goes into publick, or even to visit his brother at Corte. When danger calls, however, he is the first to appear in the defence of his country. He is then foremost in the ranks, and exposes himself to the hottest action; for religious fear is perfectly consistent with the greatest bravery;

according to the famous line of the poet Racine,

Je Crains DIEU, cher Abner; et n'ai point d'autre crainte.
I fear my GOD; and Him alone I fear.

A FRIEND.

In the beginning of an engagement, he is generally calm; and will frequently offer up a prayer to heaven, for the perſon at whom he is going to fire; ſaying he is ſorry to be under the neceſſity of depriving him of life; but that he is an enemy to Corſica, and providence has ſent him in his way, in order that he may be prevented from doing any farther miſchief; that he hopes GOD will pardon his crimes, and take him to himſelf. After he has ſeen two or three of his countrymen fall at his ſide, the caſe alters. His eyes flame with grief and indignation, and he becomes like one furious, dealing vengeance every where around him.

His authority in the council is not leſs than his valour in the field. His ſtrength of judgement and extent of knowledge, joined to the ſingular ſanctity of his character, give him great weight in all the publick

conſultations; and his influence is of conſiderable ſervice to his brother the General.

When we thus view the Corſicans glorioufly ſtriving for the beſt rights of humanity, and under the guidance of an illuſtrious commander and able ſtateſman, eſtabliſhing freedom, and forming a virtuous and happy nation, can we be indifferent as to their ſucceſs? Can Britons forbear to admire their bravery, and their wiſdom? One Engliſh Poet hath celebrated Corſica. I know not who he is. But I thank him for the ſpirit he hath ſhewn; and I would beg leave to ſelect a few of his verſes.

Hail CORSICA! than whoſe recorded name
None e'er ſtood fairer on the rolls of fame!
Rapt at the ſound, my ſoul new ardour fires,
Each thought impaſſions, and each ſtrain inſpires.
Pity, to injur'd honour that is due,
Pleads in my heart, and bids me pity you;
For worth like thine, one honeſt wiſh receive;
'Tis all the muſe, and all the friend can give.

Ye who are ſlaves of pow'r, or drones of peace,
Ambition's tools, or votaries of eaſe,
If not quite abject, nor quite loſt to ſhame,
Your hearts can feel one particle of fame,
Stand forth; on CORSICA reflect, and ſee
Not what you are, but what you ought to be.

The general good's their aim: no ſlavish awe
Marks man from man, but LIBERTY is LAW;
No venal ſenates publick credit drain,
No king enſlav'd by creatures of his reign.
Of publick honours merit is the teſt,
And thoſe obtain them who deſerve them beſt.

In this vile age, no virtue now reverʼd,
No godlike patriot prodigy appearʼd,
ʼTill one ſmall ſpot, (for in thʼ ALMIGHTYʼs Book,
The ſmalleſt ſpot is never overlookʼd)
Held forth the wonder to all Europeʼs ſhame,
Produc'd the man, and PAOLI his name.
Go on immortal man! the path purſue
Markʼd out by heavʼn, and deſignʼd but for you;
Fix your firm hope on this, on this your truſt,
Your arms muſt conquer as your cauſe is juſt.
By heavʼn! it makes my life's beſt blood run cold,
Then glow to madneſs when thy fury's told,
On thoſe vile ſlaves be heavʼn's choice thunder hurlʼd,
Who chainʼd themſelves, would gladly chain a world.

PRIDE A POEM.

The Corſicans are in general of ſmall ſtature, and rather hard-favoured, much like the Scots Highlanders; though as we find among theſe, ſo we alſo find among the Corſicans many of a good ſize, and comely countenances.

The number of inhabitants in Corſica has not been exactly taken of late, but they may be reckoned 220000 ſouls; for, previous to the riſe in 1729, there were 40000 families who payed tax to Genoa, and reckoning five

to each family, the inhabitants were then 200000.

Now although it may appear a paradox, it is certain that the number of inhabitants has increaſed during the war; as will appear from the following conſiderations.

Father Cancellotti a Jeſuit miſſionary, who travelled over Corſica, and informed himſelf with great exactneſs, made a computation, that in thirty years of Genoeſe government, the iſland loſt by aſſaſſinations and other cauſes 28000 people.

Whereas in the thirty ſeven years of war, the iſland has not loſt above 10000 people, including thoſe who have fled from the confuſions of their country, to follow fortune upon the continent.

And therefore this calculation of the number of inhabitants at preſent, is a juſt one.

The number of Corſicans is however much leſs than it was in ancient times. It is well obſerved by an able writer (*a*), 'That 'the depopulation of many countries ſeems 'to have been firſt occaſioned by the havock 'the Romans made among the ſmaller ſtates 'and cities, before they could fully eſtabliſh their ſovereign power.' In no ſtate

(*a*) Wallace on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 106.

could this cauſe of depopulation take place, more than in Corſica; for in no ſtate were the natives harder to be ſubdued. When to the Roman havock we add the reiterated turmoils, which during a courſe of ages, have ſhaken this iſland, we need be at no loſs to account why the number of its inhabitants is diminiſhed.

Of the 220000 people computed to be in Corſica, there may be 10000 in Baſtia, and in all 25000 in the territories of the Genoeſe; ſo that I reckon there are about 200000 of the patriotick nation, and of theſe Paoli can bring 40000 armed men into the field.

It is therefore by no means probable, that the Genoeſe ſhould reduce to abject ſubmiſſion ſo conſiderable a nation, and a nation of ſuch men; moſt of whom have been born in the troublous times, and been brought up with ſentiments of the moſt violent hatred to the republick. There is not a Corſican child who can procure a little gun-powder, but he immediately ſets fire to it, huzzas at the explosion, and as if he had blown up the enemy, calls out, 'Ecco i Genoveſi.' There go the Genoeſe.'

I believe the wiſeſt and beſt nobles of

Genoa are now of opinion, that the republick ſhould renounce her pretenſions of dominion over a people whom long experience has proved to be unconquerable by the Genoeſe arms, who have baffled every attempt that the republick has made againſt them, and who are at laſt formed into a ſtate that has a ſolid claim to independency. But the wiſeſt and beſt of Genoa, like the wiſeſt and beſt of other ſtates, are over-ruled by the majority; and the republick has hitherto continued to drain her treaſury, and ſacrifice her ſoldiers, in fruitleſs attempts to recover Corſica.

The Abbé Richard (*a*) hath given a very juſt and lively account of this: 'Le 'royaume de Corſe dont la republique poſſede 'quelques places maritimes lui coute prodigieuſement; elle n'en retire aucun avan'tage réel, et elle a toujours à combattre un 'peuple indiſcipliné armé pour la liberté.

'Mais comme les nobles Genois ſe regar'dent tous comme ſolidairement rois de 'Corſe, cette raiſon qui eſt tres forte ſur leur 'eſprit, les determinera toujours à ne rien 'epargner pour conſerver au moins ce titre,

(*a*) Richard Deſcrip. Hiſt. et Crit. de l'Ital. tom. I. p. 18.

'C'eſt l'objet d'ambition qui les touche le 'plus. Rien n'eſt auſſi intereſſant pour 'eux, que les nouvelles de ce païs; ſur tout 'quand la ballance paroit pancher du coté 'des rebelles. *

'Une dame Genoiſe fort inquiete de 'quelques ſuccès qui ſembloient annoncer 'une révolution totale en faveur des inſu-'laires, apprenant que les eſperances de la 'republique ſe retabliſſoient, dit dans un 'tranſport de joie, "DIEU merci nous 'ſommes donc encore un peu reines."

'The kingdom of Corſica, of which the 'republick poſſeſſes ſome maritime ſtrong 'places, coſts her a prodigious expence. 'She derives no real advantage from it, and 'ſhe hath always to combate an undiſci-'plined people armed for liberty.

'But as the Genoeſe nobles look upon 'themſelves to be all joint kings of Corſica, 'this conſideration which is very ſtrong up-'on their minds, will ever determine them 'to ſpare nothing in order to preſerve at 'leaſt the title. It is the point of ambition 'which touches them the moſt. Nothing 'is ſo intereſting to them as the news from

* He ſhould not call thoſe 'rebelles' whom he hath before repreſented as 'armés pour la liberté.'

'that country, especially when the balance 'seems to lean to the side of the rebels (patriots.)

'A Genoese lady who was very uneasy 'on account of some successes which seemed 'to announce a total revolution in favour of 'the islanders, hearing that the hopes of 'the republick began to be re-established, 'cried in a transport of joy, "Thank 'God then, we are yet somewhat queens."'

While I was employed in writing this Account of Corsica, the brave islanders resolved on striking a bold stroke, and making a conquest of the island of Capraja.

Capraja or Caprara lies to the east of Corsica, about five and twenty miles off Capo Corso, over against the coast of Tuscany. This island was formerly annexed to the kingdom of Corsica, being a portion of the feudal territory of the noble family of Damari who were deprived of it by the Genoese.

Capraja is about fifteen miles in circumference. The whole of it is exceedingly mountainous, and of a dry craggy surface. It is all around so pointed with rocks, that it is inaccessible almost on every quarter, except at one harbour, which is a pretty

good one, and where numbers of vessels passing the Mediterranean are used to take shelter. It hath upwards of 3000 inhabitants, all of whom are assembled in a town at the extremity of the island, just above the harbour.

The men of Capraja are strong and robust. They all go to sea, and are reckoned the hardiest and most expert sailors in that part of the world. The women employ themselves chiefly in cultivating vines, for which the island is pretty fertile. There is here a strong citadel built on a high rock, so that it commands the town and harbour. It is well furnished with artillery, and the Genoese kept there a garrison. There are also two other towers at the two extremities of the island, built rather in order to descry the Barbary Corsairs, than to defend a country so well fortified by nature *.

In the month of December 1766, Signor Paul Mattei of Centuri having gone to France

* I know Capraja well, for I was driven into it by bad weather in my return from Corsica. I was detained there six days, and was lodged in a Franciscan convent, where the worthy Fathers entertained me very hospitably. I employed my time, in writing a minute detail of every thing in the island, which I still have by me, and often amuse myself with, at a vacant hour.

to transact some private affairs, in his passage home he went ashore at Capraja, where he was at great pains to inform himself with regard to the situation of their garrison, their harbour and their coasts, the scarcity of provisions, and the little attention with which the island was defended.

On his return to Corsica, he proposed to Paoli to make a descent upon Capraja. His proposal was immediately approved, and the conduct of the enterprise was committed to Signor Achilles Murati, commandant at Erbalonga, and Signor John Baptist Ristori, commandant at Furiani, who on the evening of the 16th of February 1767, set sail from the port of Macinajo, accompanied by Signor Mattei and several gallant young gentlemen of the principal families in the provinces of Capo Corso and Nebbio, who chose to go as volunteers. They had also a few Capraese to serve as guides.

They landed on Capraja that night. The Corsican commanders signified to the Capraese, that they were come with no hostile intentions against them; but only to expell from their country, the Genoese, that the inhabitants of Capraja might participate the happy fruits of liberty, in common with

their ancient friends the Corſicans; and therefore they hoped that inſtead of meeting with oppoſition, they would be received with cordiality. Upon this, a number of the inhabitants immediately joined them, and they laid ſiege to the citadel.

The Genoeſe were piqued to the greateſt degree, to find that thoſe iſlanders, whom they gave out to be a ſet of rebels, under the awe of a French guard, were boldly ſallying forth, and wreſting from them the ſovereignty of another iſland in the Mediterranean; an event which could not fail to blaze abroad over Europe, and equally contribute to the glory of the Corſicans and to the diſgrace of the republick. They therefore ſpared no expence or care to defeat the enterpriſe.

They ſent out a conſiderable armament under the command of Signor Auguſtino Pinello, a man of tried activity and valour, and an actual ſenatour of Genoa.

They alſo ſent Colonel Antonio Matra, with a body of choſen men, who by the aſſiſtance of a Capraeſe galley-ſlave effectuated a landing, at a place neglected by the Corſicans as inacceſſible.

While Matra attacked the Corſicans by land, Signor Pinello attacked them from the ſea, on two different quarters; ſo that they had a very hot and difficult action to maintain. Notwithſtanding all which, Pinello was beaten off, and Matra's detachment was totally routed.

I could wiſh to relate the various particulars of this expedition. I have materials ſufficient for it; but the plan of my work does not permit me. The citadel of Capraja ſurrendered on the 29th of May.

The Corſicans have by this conqueſt added conſiderably to their dominion. They have acquired an increaſe of moſt uſeful people; and they are in a condition to prevent, or at leaſt render extremely difficult, the communication between Genoa and her garriſons in Corſica.

Sir James Steuart hath placed the Corſicans in rather an unfavourable light. His words are, 'The Corſicans have exported, 'that is, ſold the beſt part of their iſland to 'Genoa; and now, after having ſpent the 'price in wearing damaſk and velvet, they 'want to bring it back, by confiſcating the 'property of the Genoeſe, who have both 'paid for the iſland, and drawn back the

'price of it, by the balance of their trade against these islanders.' (a)

With this respectable writer's permission it was not a balance of trade, but a balance of bad fortune, which subjected Corsica to the Genoese; and the greatest part, if not all the property of the nobles of the republick in that island, was acquired only by force or by fraud. The expensiveness of the Corsicans in wearing damask and velvet, is merely ideal. Corsica is perhaps the only country upon the face of the globe, where luxury has never once been introduced. The Genoese cannot pretend to have made themselves masters of Corsica, by commercial superiority; for those republicans have been supplied from that fertile island, with a great many of the necessaries of life, which their own narrow dominions could not furnish in sufficient quantities.

I have thought myself called upon to rectify this mistake, in a book which may afford many important lessons to free nations, and among the rest to the brave Corsicans themselves.

It is in vain for the Genoese to pretend

(a) Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy, Book II. Chap. 2.

any longer that the Corsicans are to be look-
ed upon as rebels. It is nobly opposed by a
Corsican writer; with whose words I shall
conclude my Account of Corsica.

« Rebelli! come non hanno vergogna di
« dar a noi questo titolo? a noi che facciamo
« la guerra con tanto spirito di lenità e di
« dolcezza, che non altro si studia che risi-
« parmiare il sangue, i beni, e l'onore de'
« nostri concittadini? a noi che non cercando
« se non di liberare la patria della più infe-
« lice di tutte le cattività, altro titolo non
« conviene che quello di salvatori. E poi-
« chè lode a Dio dator d'ogni bene, abbiamo
« già conseguito l'intento; poichè abbiamo
« già formato in sequela un governo sovrano
« libero, indipendente, assoluto, padrone
« della vita e della morte di tante migliaja
« di sudditi, che lo riconoscono, ed ubidis-
« cono con fedeltà e con prestezza. Avendo
« stabilito successivamente rota e tribunali;
« giudici e magistrati; ministri ed esecutori
« di giustizia; secreterie e cancellerie; aperte
« stamperie; composte leggi e statuti; trup-
« pe e finanze; poichè sotto al nostro domi-
« nio abbiamo torri e presidi; castelli e car-
« ceri; armi e cannoni; porti e bastimenti,
« poichè assolviamo e condanniamo per via

'di proceſſi e ſentenze; imponiamo taſſe e 'contribuzioni; improntiamo i noſtri ſigil- 'li; ſventoliamo le noſtre bandiere; conce- 'diamo tratte e licenze; creiamo notari; 'intimiamo guerre; formiamo aſſedi; capi- 'toliamo reſe ed armiſtizi; contraſſegni tut- 'ti di ſovranità, e di dominio? come poſſon 'più appellarci gente privata? (a)

'Rebels! are they not aſhamed to give 'to us that title? to us, who make war with 'ſuch a ſpirit of lenity and mildneſs, that 'our only ſtudy is to ſpare the blood, the 'effects and the honour of our fellow-ci- 'tizens? to us, who ſeek for nothing but 'to free our country from the moſt iniqui- 'tous of all captivities, and therefore well 'deſerve the title of ſaviours. And thanks 'to GOD the Giver of all good, we have 'now obtained our purpoſe: for we have 'now formed a government ſovereign, free 'and independent, with the power of life 'and death over ſo many thouſand ſubjects, 'who acknowledge it, and obey it with fi- 'delity and with alacrity. We have now 'ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed a rota and tribunals, 'judges and magiſtrates, adminiſtratours 'and executers of juſtice. We have ſecre-

(a) Manifeſt. di Gen. Colle Riſpoſt. di un Corſ. p. 23.

'taries offices, and publick archives; open 'printing-houſes, laws and ſtatutes, troops 'and finances. We have moreover under 'our dominion towers and garriſons, caſtles 'and priſons, arms and cannon, harbours 'and ſhipping. Beſides, we abſolve and 'condemn in the regular form of proceſſes 'and ſentences; we impoſe taxes and con-'tributions, we adhibit our ſeals, we diſ-'play our colours, we declare wars, we form 'ſieges, we capitulate for truces and ceſſa-'tions of arms. Are not all theſe the marks 'of ſovereignty and dominion? How then 'can they any longer call us a private 'band?'

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

CORSICAN STATE PAPERS.

N° I. page 136.

MANIFESTO

DEL GENERALE,

E SUPREMO CONSIGLIO DI STATO

DEL REGNO DI CORSICA.

LA giuſtizia della noſtra guerra contro la repubblica di Genova è tanto nota al mondo, quanto la neceſſità che ci ha indotti a prender le armi per ſottrarci dalla più obbrobrioſa, ed inſoffribile tirannia degl' ingiuſti occupatori della noſtra iſola, e de nemici della noſtra libertà. La moderazione, ciò non oſtante, colla quale ci ſiamo ſempre diportati in queſto sì giuſto, e lodevole impegno, avendo viepiù riempiti d'orgoglio, e fatti ogni giorno più arditi a noſtro danno i Signori di Genova, rende a noi indiſpenſabile il dovere nel punto che ſiamo per cambiar di condotta a lor riguardo, manifeſtarne al pubblico li motivi, e le ragioni, onde ognuno ſia perſuaſo della rettitudine delle noſtre determinazioni, e di quella equità, che forma il carattere della noſtra nazione.

Da trenta anni che noi ſoſteniamo la preſente guerra per iſnidare affatto dalla noſtra iſola la repubblica di Genova, mai in alcun modo avevamo tentato fraſtornare il commercio di mare a ſudditi di quella ſignoria, compaſſionando di quelli piuttoſto l' infelice ſituazione, che l'obligava a vivere ſotto un governo, che per la iſteſſa ſua coſtituzione non può ſe non eſſer tiranno. Ma vedendo ora con quanta oſtinazione, ed efficacia la predetta repubblica s'affatichi per interdire, e precludere ogni ſtrada al commercio marittimo nel noſtro regno, prendendo non ſolamente co' ſuoi Baſtimenti armati in Corſo quelli che loro rieſce incontrare di noſtra bandiera, ma per anche con felice ardimento finora abbrugiando, ed inſultando quelli delle altre nazioni più riſpettabili dell' Europa, che per ragion di traffico ſi portino ad approdare, o partano da porti, e ſcali a noi ſoggetti della noſtra iſola. E vedendo in fine,

che questa nostra lenità, e contegno niente è corrisposto dalli sudditi Genovesi, e che anche essi instigano il loro principe a privarci del beneficio del commercio con qualunque bandiera, lusingandosi con questo mezzo vedere affatto la nostra nozione soffrir nelle loro mani il monopolio delle sue sostanze, colle quali si sono obbligati provedere quei presidi, che noi teniamo bloccati: Per non mancar quindi di riguardo a noi medesimi, per toglier gli ostacoli, e proteggere il nostro commercio, e per render sensibile il nostro risentimento a coloro, che sul mare impunemente finora ci hanno insultati con tanto nostro pregiudizio; prevalendoci del dritto, che ci compete, e perchè è inseparabile da quella libertà, che il cielo ha concessa al nostro valore, abbiamo deliberato conceder la facoltà a qualunque de' nostri nazionali, che volesse armar bastimenti da Corso contro de' Genovesi nostri nemici, e lor bandiera, d' inalberare il nostro padiglione dopo aver preso però da noi il passaporto, e le istruzioni opportune; la quale facoltà nell' istesso modo, e forma, volentieri accorderemo ancora a qualunque straniere, che volessero servirsene contro de' medesimi nostri nemici, e lor bandiera, bonificandogli, ed assicurandogli tutti que' privilegi, che in uguali circostanze sogliono accordarsi agli armatori.

Costretti per tanto da così prestanti motivi, e sode ragioni a far la guerra anche per mare alla repubblica nostra nemica, ci protestiamo nondimeno voler usare il maggior rispetto, ed i riguardi possibili a tutti i prencipi dell' Europa, e di voler praticare, ed osservare le leggi, e consuetudini introdotte, ed ammesse nelle guerre marittime anche verso de Genovesi, quando i medesimi colle solite loro irregolari, ed inumane procedure non ci costringano ad appartarcene.

Crsinca 20. Maggio 1760.

N° II. page 136.

DOGE

GOVERNATORI,

E PROCURATORI

DELLA REPUBBLICA DI GENOVA.

NELLA determinazione, in cui siamo di dare a' nostri popoli della Corsica i contrassegni più indubitati, ed autentici della paterna nostra amorevolezza, e del sincero desiderio che abbiamo di renderli tranquilli e felici; essendoci fatte presenti le instanze di una gran parte di detti popoli, abbiamo deliberato di spedire in quel nostro regno una eccellentissima deputazione munita di tutte le opportune facoltà, ed autorizzata in nome della sereniſſima nostra repubblica a promovervi efficacemente, ed a fissare i mezzi di quella stabile pacificazione, che fu da tanto tempo l' oggetto delle più vive nostre premure.

Notifichiamo quindi col mezzo delle presenti a' sopraddetti nostri popoli, che saranno essi, niuno escluso, pienamente rimessi nella grazia e favore della prefata nostra repubblica col generale indulto di tutto ciò che può essere accaduto in occasione de' moti trascorsi: gli accertiamo inoltre della immancabile nostra disposizione ad assicurare la tranquillità, e la felicità loro col mezzo di tutte quelle graziose concessioni, che servano non solo a confermare, e spiegare le precedenti, e particolarmente quelle, che furono accordate in tempo dell' illustrissimo Pietro Maria Giustiniano, ma ancora la ferma intenzione, in cui siamo, di concedere alla nazione Corsa distinzioni maggiori, stabilire una retta, ed invariabile amministrazione della giustizia civile e criminale, favorire ed ampliare il commercio, e procurare in somma alla predetta nazione col bene della pace ogni altro possibile vantaggio.

A questi giustissimi fini la prefata eccellentissima deputazione impiegherà ogni sua cura e pensiero; ed invitiamo perciò non meno

tutti i ſoggetti più riguardevoli, che qualunque altro particolare del regno a contribuirvi per parte loro con quella ſteſſa affezione, impegno, e buona fede, che per parte noſtra, e dell' eccellentiſſima deputazione vi ſaranno certamente apportati procurando altresì il più pronto generale concorſo di tutte le pievi, e provincie, onde poſſa colla maggior ſollecitudine, concordia, ed unanimatà perfezionarſi un' opera, che dev' eſſere per i ſuddetti noſtri popoli di ſommo intereſſe, ed importanza.

In viſta di quanto ſopra proibiamo eſpreſſamente a chi avrà cara la noſtra grazia il recare qualunque danno alle perſone, e bene di chiunque ſiaſi de' ſuddetti noſtri popoli; e ſiccome ci promettiamo, che l' opera, e lo zelo di ognuno ſi adopereranno efficacemente per un oggetto, che tanto intereſſa la repubblica, e'l vero bene del regno, così avremo noi preſente il merito di quelli, che con più di attività, e d'impegno contribuiranno a promuoverlo, e ſtabilirlo.

Dat. in Genova nel noſtro Real Palazzo li 9. Maggio 1761.

Domenico MARIA TATIS Segretario di Stato.

N° III. page 139.

RISULTATO DEL CONGRESSO TENUTO DA' CORSI IN CASINCA, IN OCCASIONE DELLA GIUNTA SPEDITA IN CORSICA DA' GENOVESI.

IL GENERALE,

ED IL SUPREMO CONSIGLIO DI STATO

DEL REGNO DI CORSICA.

LA repubblica di Genova conoſciute inſufficienti le proprie ſue forze, non che per ſottometterci all' aborrito di lei dominio, ma ben anche per far più lunga reſiſtenza a quelle, che ci forniſce la noſtra unione, ed il noſtro invincible attaccamento alla libertà da qualche tempo a queſta parte, ma ſempre invano non ha mai ceſſato di tentare con tutta la maggior efficacia delle ſue impoſture d' indiſporre contra di noi, e ricever ſoccorſo da qualche gran Corte d' Europa.

Vedendoſi ora deluſa in queſto ſuo diſegno, e ſapendo beniſſimo riputarſi da ogn' uno un dritto dell' umanità il dare una volta quiete a queſta nazione, fortemente ella teme, che nel futuro congreſſo di pace conſiderata, e la giuſtizia della noſtra cauſa colle noſtre ſolenni determinazioni, e l' incompatibilità del ſuo governo col genio dei noſtri popoli, i principi d' Europa per non laſciare accesa in ſeno all' Italia una ſcintilla di guerra non penſino a farla deſiſtere dalle pretenſioni che oſtenta, e che ad altro fine non vorrebbe far valere ſopra queſto regno, che per riempirlo di miſerie, e d' orrore. In tale ſtato di coſe ſeguendo l' impulſo della ſua paſſione predominante di ſtragi, e di vendette, ella ha creduto non poterſi meglio opporre alle noſtre intrapreſe, che animando colla profuzione di molto danaro, e coll' offerta di gradi militari, e ſtipendi alcuni uomini vili, e mercenari, eſuli dalla lor patria per le enormità de' loro delitti ad introdurviſi ſurrettiziamente per eccitarvi il tumulto, e la diſunione; onde in apprenſione, o diſtratti noi in una

guerra civile, avesse più commodo di far valere il giro dei suoi artifizi, e nelle Corti, e nel congresso di pace. Ed ella tanto più lentieri ha adottato questo progetto, quanto che nel congresso di Aquisgrana, allorchè i ministri delle potenze pensarono a mettere le mani anche agli affari di Corsica, attualmente seppe chiudere la bocca coll' asserire, che in poco tempo avrebbe quietati i guai di questo regno. Coll' istessa industria volendo ora prevenire l' attenzione dei gabinetti per mezzo de' suoi inviati, e con manifesti, impudentemente asserisce, e divulga, aver finalmente ritrovato il mezzo di ridurre alla quiete le cose di Corsica, ed avere a tale oggetto sulle richieste della maggior parte de' popoli, e de' principali della nazione destinata una giunta di sei soggetti dell' ordine senatorio munita di ample facoltà, e per attirarsi la confidenza, ed il concorso delle pievi nella città di Bastia, e per ultimarvi il trattato di pacificazione.

Noi amatissimi compatriotti quali per maggiore del nostro ministero colla maggiore sollecitudine, ed indefessa attenzione siamo continuamente applicati, e vegliamo alla conservazione della vostra interna tranquillità, ed a sconcertare i progetti, e respingere i tentativi de' nemici della nostra libertà, avendo penetrato questo piano ed idea della repubblica di Genova, non credemmo poter più lungamente differire la citazione del solito annuale congresso, espediente sperimentato efficacissimo in trenta, e più anni di guerra per confondere l'orgoglio, e frastornar le misure de' Genovesi. Fu intimato, e notificato a tutti quelli, che hanno voce, ed autorità su' i pubblici affari, e fu tenuto col maggior concorso di tutti gli ordini, e rappresentanti della nazione nel convento di S. Francesco della pieve di Casinca nelle festività di pentecoste. Previddero il colpo fatale della lor macchina i nostri nemici, e fecero ogni sforza per farlo cadere a vuoto. D. Filippo Grimaldi alla testa de' banditti, e facinorosi fatti venire appostatamente da Genova in Bastia coll' intelligenza del Martinetti, e coll' appoggio di molti bastimenti fece uno scalo in Fiumorbo, e stabilissi a casa di Sardo, da dove con minaccie, e lusinghe, e colla propalazione di dovere un reggimento in quella comarca, si persuase sbigottire i buoni patriotti, e tirare a se il concorso di molti partiti nel disegno d' interrompere, occupandoci altrove, il citato congresso, e privarsi così della congiuntura più propria d' illuminare i nostri popoli, e di esser assistiti dal loro zelo, e generosità nel comune bisogno. L' instantaneo provvedimento, che s' oppose a questo primo tentativo degli avversari, e la prontezza con cui prese l' armi per difesa della propria libertà tutta quella comarca vi sono egualmente storiche

sconfitta de' traditori della patria, e delle truppe Genovesi. Continuò dunque il congresso colla più desiderabile unanimità di sentimenti, e colla più matura ponderazione delle cose le sue sessioni, nelle quali furono prese le qui sotto notate deliberazioni, quali perchè siano a notizia d' ogn' uno, e per la loro intiera osservanza, vogliamo ed ordiniamo che siano lette, e pubblicate, ed affissata copia ne' luoghi soliti, e consueti, riserbandoci sopra alcuni punti ad emanar fuori più circostanziato dettaglio per soddisfazione, ed intelligenza de' nostri amatissimi popoli.

I. E' stato decretato che si faccia un manifesto per mezzo di cui smentire quelli della repubblica di Genova, protestando nel medesimo, che in alcun tempo mai noi non saremo per dare orrecchio a veruna proposizione d' accordo con i Genovesi, se questi per preliminari non riconoscono la nostra libertà, l' indipendenza del nostro governo, e non cedono al medesimo le poche piazze che ancor tengono nel regno. Quali preliminari accordati, ed eseguiti, la nazione Corsa, ed il suo governo adotterà le misure più proprie e decenti, e farà spiccare la natural sua equità, e moderazione per indennizare il decoro, e gl' interessi della repubblica di Genova.

II. Nella più probabile supposizione, che i Genovesi acciecati dal loro orgoglio non saranno per aderire a questi preliminari di pace, per metterci maggiormente in istato di fargli con più successo, e vigorosa la guerra in conseguenza del piano stabilito per l' anno corrente, è stato pensato, ed a pieni voti determinato, che si levi una contribuzione straordinaria, in virtù della quale determinazione ciascuno che avrà beni stabili, mobili, o semoventi fruttiferi nel regno dovrà pagare una lira per ogni mille che ne possederà in detti effetti per una sol volta. Per fare questa esigenza li signori intendenti generali, o altri presidenti della camera con una particolare istruzione si metteranno in giro nel prossimo venturo mese d' Agosto.

III. Per la più pronta spedizione degli affari, e per essere nel luogo il più a portata d' invigilare all' interna tranquillità del regno è stato conchiuso, e stabilito, che il governo supremo faccia fissa la sua residenza nella città di Corte, e che vi si debba trasferire ne' primi giorni dell' entrante Giugno, col permesso però al Sig. Generale di potersene appartare quando lo giudichi a proposito, o per l' esecuzione del piano stabilito delle operazioni di guerra in quest' anno, o per mantenersi alla fronte del nemico, ed opporsi alli di lui tentativi. Nel qual caso resteranno a di lui carico, e di sua inspezione particolare il comando, e la direzione dell' armi, la guarnigione de' presidi, torri, e postamenti, ed ogni altro affare apparte-

mente alla guerra, e nel restante delle pubbliche incombenze più
cederà il supremo consiglio colla solita sua suprema autorità.

IV. Intendo al desiderio de' veri amatori della libertà, quale in
ogni cosa vorrebbero che avesse uguale influenza, ed ardentemente
sollecitano per l'abolimento di ogni qualunque residuo dell' antiche
servitù: siccome ancora per averne quel profitto che ne ritraggono
gli altri stati, si è stabilito di far coniare colle armi del regio utili
quantità proporzionata di moneta di rame, e d'argento, per servire
agli usi correnti dentro il regno. La quale moneta non potrà es-
ser rifiutata da alcuno, e nella quale solamente la camera, ed i tri-
bunali riceveranno i pagamenti, i dazi, le taffe ordinarie, e stra-
ordinarie, condanne, ò altro &c. Per maggior comodo de' popoli
in ogni provincia, e forse anche in ogni pieve sarà deputata una
persona, a cui potrà ricorrere chiunque per far qualche pagamento
pubblico, per cui avrà bisogno di cambiar moneta forastiera colla
corrente del regno, o di queste colla forastiera per il commercio, ed
usi fuori di stato.

V. E per viepiù fare spiccare l' independenza dei nostri tribu-
nali, e supplire in parte alle spese della loro manutenzione, è stato
risolato, che il supremo governo pensi a far bollare colle armi del
regno una quantità di carta, consegnandola agl' intendenti gene-
rali delle finanze, coll' incarico ai medesimi di distribuirne per cias-
cuna pieve a proporzione, perchè venga comprata a soldi due, e de-
nari, otto il foglio da chiunque ne avrà bisogno. Poichè dal mo-
mento che sarà distribuita per le pievi, questa carta così bollata, e
sarà notificato a tutti per mezzo d' una circolare, non sarà ricevuta
come instromento, ò scrittura pubblica, ma sarà considerato ne'
nostri tribunali come di niun vigore qualunque atto in avvenire
non scritto sopra questa carta.

VI. E ad oggetto di far più sensibile, e manifesto il giusto nostro
risentimento contro Don Filippo Grimaldi, capo e direttore de'
facinorosi felloni, ed emissari, le di cui malvagie inclinazioni lo
condussero al remo nella sua gioventù, ed a cui la frequenza de'
più enormi delitti contro la patria ha servito di scalà per arrivare
al grado di colonnello della repubblica di Genova, della quale or
gode la maggior confidenza, si è ordinato, che debba construirli la
figura d' un uomo di paglia rappresentante esso Don Filippo Gri-
maldi, per essere dal ministro di giustizia alle forche piscaine pub-
blicamente impiccato affinchè venendo in qualunque tempo nelle
nostre forze, si debba eseguire il medesimo supplicio nella di lui
propria persona.

VII. Ed attese le presenti emergenze, si è pensato incaricare colle più efficaci premure i commissari, i capitani delle armi, ed altri pubblici uffiziali della nazione d' arrestare, e consegnare alla giustizia tutte le persone sospette, o che terranno discorsi sediziosi, siccome d' invigilare agli andamenti, e sorprendere gli emissari dei Concordi nelle loro respettive pievi, e parrocchie, alla qual premurosa disposizione contravenendo si eseguiranno rigorosamente contro di loro le leggi stabilite nel congresso di Santo Pietro.

VIII. Si sono prese inoltre le misure più proprie per mantenere il buon ordine nell' amministrazione della giustizia, e nella percezione, e maneggio del danaro pubblico, ciocchè noi scrupolosamente adempiremo in quanto per ragion del nostro impiego a noi spetta, ed assiduamente invigileremo, che gli altri ancora eseguiscano colla maggior diligenza, ed esattezza le loro commissioni, e incombenze.

Noi per ultimo, amatissimi compatrioti, non stimiamo nemmeno opportuno d' esortarvi ad unire alla nostra sollecitudine la vostra costanza, mentre nell' ultimo memorabile congresso si è troppo manifestamente contradistinto il vostro zelo per la commune patria, e nel concorrere in tanto numero, e con tanto ardore ad abbattere, e punire l' indegno ribelle Martinetti, avere abbastanza fatta vedere la vostra fermezza in difendere, e mantenere la nostra libertà; onde noi siamo pieni di riconoscenza, e di gratitudine per la vostra fedeltà e valore, e l' Europa tutta sarà quindi persuasa della inalterabile nostra unione, mediante la quale noi assicureremo la nostra felicità, ed aumenteremo sempre la gloria della patria.

Vescovato 24. Maggio 1761.

Giuseppe Maria Massesi Gran-Cancelliere.

N° IV. page 137.

MEMORIA

AI SOVRANI

DI EUROPA.

NON dovrebbe certamente lagnarsi la repubblica di Genova, se dai Corsi non si è prestato orrecchio alle lusinghevoli, e generiche espressioni d' assicurare la tranquillità, e la felicità loro contenute nell' editto dei 9 Maggio, sparso artificiosamente in più mani dai Corsi medesimi. Chiunque sia per poco informato delle circostanze foriere di questo editto, sarà astretto a confessare, che o la repubblica non ebbe lumi bastevoli per ben intraprender l' impegno di piegar l' animo dei Corsi, oppure che le di lei mire erano a tutt' altro dirette, che a renderli tranquilli e felici. Lo sbarco clandestino di diversi uomini facinorosi già sbanditi dalla Corsica; la sedizione interna tentata in più parti del regno; l' aver obbligati alcuni ufiziali Corsi, che sono al soldo dei Genovesi, a girare per i luoghi, affine di ammutinar gente; il non aver fatto il minimo capitale del regno, ma soltanto del popolo meno illuminato, sono forse mezzi adattati per dar principio alla tranquillità, e felicità dei Corsi, ovvero ad eccitare fra essi lo spargimento del sangue, e tutto l' orrore di una guerra civile? Le massime presenti della repubblica niente dissimili sono da quelle che per l' avanti hanno animato il di lei governo, reso tanto odioso ai Corsi, quanto è stato il compatimento, con cui ogni sovrano ha riguardato le di loro vicende. Nè accade che più si pensi a risogettargli una nazione, la quale siccome dalla repubblica riconosce l' avvilimento di tutto il regno, e l'abiezione de' popoli; così eleggerà una morte generosa, piuttosto che sottoporre di nuovo il collo all' antica schiavitù.

Dalla violenza, e dalla forza che potesse accorrere in ajuto della repubblica, potrebbe, non vi è dubbio, abbattersi il valore dei Corsi, ma non per tanto si otterrebbe dai Genovesi l' intento, perchè il cuore di quegli non perderebbe perciò quella connaturale libertà, con

cui si nasce, ed in vece di scemarsi, maggiormente si aumenterebbe quella antipatia, che dividerà per sempre le due nazioni. E non è da crederſi, che verun sovrano voglia costantemente tenere in Corsica un' armata in piedi per sostenere i dritti di una repubblica, che eccetto l' invasione, non ha titolo, che possa contrapporsi a quelli che v' hanno gli altri potentati d' Europa. O sia l' impero per rapporto alla Toscana, o sia la Francia a cui altre voltre fu incorporata, o sia la Spagna per i re d' Aragona, o sia la Santa Sede Apostolica di cui fu tributaria.

Intanto però neppure è da porsi in dubbio che i re moderni, ai troni de' quali già pervennero i giusti clamori dei Corsi, vogliano trasandare quel dritto d' umanità, che può istillare nei di loro animi augusti il pensiero di dare una volta la quiete alla Corsica, col lasciarle godere la sua libertà, per cui in ogni tempo ha dimostrato tanto attaccamento, e per cui ha sostenuta con tanta costanza una guerra così disastrosa, o mettendola sotto la protezione di qualche principe, che la riguardi come figlia, e che inviglì ed influisca colla minor gelosia degl' altri stati nella constituzione del suo governo; oppure adattando qualche altro spediente poco meno analogo alla naturale inclinazione de' suoi popoli, e che coll' indennità de' loro privilegi, meno anche s' opponga alle mire politiche, ed alle pretenzioni delle potenze interessate.

N° V. page 140.

DETERMINAZIONI

PRESE NEL CONGRESSO

DI TUTTI I CAPI PRINCIPALI DEL REGNO

Tenuto in CORTE li 23. 24. e 25. di Ottobre dell' Anno corrente 1764.

ATTESE le continuate notizie, che ſi hanno da tutte le parti, ſembra, che non vi ſia più luogo a dubitare dell' imminente venuta in Corſica delle truppe Franceſi, leggendoſi perfino nelle pubbliche gazzette il minuto dettaglio del numero di eſſe truppe, de' luoghi che dovranno occupare in Corſica, del tempo, che dovranno reſtarvi, ed alcuni altri articoli concernenti a queſta ſpedizione. Quindi è che il governo ſi è creduto nella indiſpenſabile neceſſità di convocare un particolare congreſſo di tutti i ſoggetti, che hanno occupata la carica di conſiglieri di ſtato nel ſupremo governo, de' preſidenti delle provincie, de' commiſſari delle pievi, e di tutti gli altri capi principali del regno ad oggetto di conſultare intorno alle determinazioni da prenderſi in rapporto a queſto incidente troppo intereſſante per la nazione.

E ſebbene vi ſia luogo a credere, che le intenzioni di S. Maeſtà Chriſtianiſſima non tendano con queſta ſpedizione a fare direttamente la guerra ad una nazione, che ſempre ſi è fatta preggio del più ſincero oſſequioſo attaccamento alla corona di Francia, e per cui altre volte ſi meritò la ſpeciale protezione de' di lui glorioſi predeceſſori; eſſendo però deſtinate le truppe Franceſi a munire, e difendere i preſidi, che ancora ritengono in Corſica i Genoveſi, non poſſono i Corſi riſguardarle, che come una ſpecie di truppe ausiliarie della repubblica, finchè ſpecialmente non vengano loro a notizia tutti gli articoli del trattato di freſco concluſo colla ſteſſa repubblica relativo a queſta ſpedizione.

Affine pertanto di usare di tutta la possibile precauzione, e di prendere le misure più convenevoli alla pubblica sicurezza, si sono prese unanimemente alcune determinazioni contenute ne' seguenti articoli.

Primo. Si formerà una giunta di guerra composta di vari soggetti di tutte le provincie, da nominarsi dal supremo governo, la quale sarà incaricata d' invigilare per la esatta, e rigorosa osservanza dell' articolo 34. dell' ultima general consulta, risguardante la proibizione di qualunque sorta di commercio co' presidi nemici, tanto in riguardo all' accesso dei nazionali ai detti presidi, quanto de presidiani agli scali della nazione, ad oggetto di garantire i popoli dalle angustie di una vicina carestia consimile a quella dell' anno scorso, per mantenere, ed aumentare il commercio introdotto negli scali della nazione, e provvedere nel tempo stesso, alla sussistenza delle pubbliche finanze. Dandosi perciò piena autorità a detta giunta di punire irremissibilmente i delinquenti.

Secondo. Quantunque possa credersi, che le truppe Francesi destinate ora in Corsica non siano per intraprendere cosa alcuna in pregiudizio dei diritti della nazione, e rinnovarvi alcuno degli attentati altre volte commessi con manifesto abuso della confidenza, e buona fede de' Corsi nella inaspettata sorpresa della paludella, e di alziprato, e nella resa del Castello di Sanfiorenzo in mano de' nemici; contuttociò per maggiormente abbondare in precauzioni, sarà loro onninamente vietato l' accesso ai paesi sotto qualunque pretesto. Sarà perciò ispezione di S. Ecc. il Sig. Generale di tener muniti i postamenti di frontiera, anche per far valere la giuridizione, e il dominio della nazione sopra i territori degli stessi presidi confiscati a favore della pubblica camera come è stato praticato finora. Potrà però il supremo governo accordare il passaporto a qualche officiale Francese, che lo chiedesse, con obbligo di manifestare nella prima generale consulta da tenersi i motivi della richiesta, e della concessione di tali passaporti, e di quanto si fosse trattato con essi Francesi.

Terzo. Precorrendo voce, che possa essere fatta qualche proposizione di pace, o di accomodamento colla repubblica, dovrà questa assolutamente rigettarsi, si prima non siano accordati, ed eseguiti i preliminari proposti nella general consulta di Casinca dell' anno 1761.

Quarto. S' incarica S. Ecc. il Sig. Generale di fare a nome della nazione una rispettosa, ed efficace rimostranza a sua Maestà Christianissima in rapporto ai danni, che viene a risentire la nazione suddetta per la missione in Corsica delle sue truppe in un tempo, che profittando i Corsi della estrema debolezza de' lor nemici,

erano sul punto di espellerli intieramente dall' isola, restando perciò preclusa loro la strada ad ulteriori progressi, e vantaggiata al contrario la repubblica, che viene con questo mezzo a rinfrancarsi delle gravissime spese, che era tenuta fare in Corsica e a mettersi così maggiormente in istato di continuare la guerra contro la nazione. Metterà in vista nel tempo stesso a S. Maestà il gravissimo [illegible] anni adietro alla nazione colla resa in mano de' Genovesi della importante piazza di Sanfiorenzo, consegnata dai Corsi alle sue truppe affine di custodirla, chiedendo di tutto la convenevole indennizzazione.

Quinto. E perchè questa rimostranza abbia maggiormente il suo effetto, sarà pure incombenza di esso Sig. Generale d'indirizzarsi alle potenze protettrici, ed amiche della nazione, supplicandole a volerla coadiuvare colla loro mediazione presso sua Maestà Christianissima, e a continuare alla nazione stessa l'alto loro Padrocinio per la conservazione de' suoi diritti, e prerogative di libertà, e indipendenza.

Sesto. Essendo venuto a notizia del supremo governo, che qualunque privato indifferentemente si faccia lecito di devastare i pubblici boschi, erigendovi fabbriche o sua talento di qualunque [illegible] di legnami, nell' avvenire si proibisce rigorosamente a chicchesia ogni nuova erezione di dette fabbriche, ed il taglio di qualsivoglia sorta di alberi ne' boschi suddetti, se prima non ne sarà ottenuta la licenza in iscritto da concedersi dal solo supremo governo.

Giuseppe Maria Mazzei Gran-Cancelliere.

M. VI. page 196.

GENERALE

E SUPREMO CONSIGLIO

DI STATO

DEL REGNO DI CORSICA,

AI NOSTRI DILETTI POPOLI.

FRA le incessanti gravissime occupazioni, che seco porta il governo de' popoli alla nostra cura commessi, una delle principali nostre applicazioni mai sempre è stata quella di procurare alla gioventù del nostro regno un pubblico comodo onde poterla istruire negli studi delle scienze divine ed umane, ad oggetto di renderla maggiormente utile al servizio di Dio, e della patria.

Il governo Genovese tra le massime della barbara detestabil politica con cui reggeva questi popoli, sopra ogni altra, si attenne invariabilmente a quella di mantenergli nell' incoltura, e nella ignoranza; e per quanto fiorissero le scienze, e fossero in pregio presso le vicine nazioni, ed anche alcuni de' nostri nazionali dalla generosità de' principi d' Italia fossero prescelti a sostenere con alta riputazion di dottrina le cattedre più ragguardevoli nelle università di Roma, di Pisa, e di Padova, noi però eravamo miseramente costretti a vedere in Corsica i più sublimi e perspicaci ingegni, che la natura ha dati in ogni tempo, ed in gran numero nel nostro clima, o a languire senza cultura, e consumarsi nella oscurità, e nell' ozio, o a procacciar con grave dispendio oltremare, e per le contrade d' Europa quel comodo di coltivarsi che non era loro permesso di rinvenire nella lor patria.

La Provvidenza però, che in tante maniere ha manifestati sopra di noi i più sensibili contrassegni della sua protezione, ha dissipata

in gran parte quella nuvola di ſicurità, che cotanto ingiuſtamente ci copriva, e noi ſiamo a portata di diſingannare il mondo, che non era la Corſica quel barbaro paeſe, che voleaſi far credere da' Genoveſi, nemico dei buoni ſtudi, e delle ſcienze.

L' oggetto pertanto di queſto noſtro editto è quello di far noto ai noſtri amatiſſimi popoli, che l' univerſità degli ſtudi ideata da gran tempo, e fraſtornata fin quì dalle circoſtanze inopportune dei tempi, ſi aprirà il giorno 1re del proſſimo futuro Gennajo in queſta città di Corte, luogo preſcelto nell' ultima general conſulta dello ſcaduto Maggio, come il più comodo a tutta la nazione. Quest' opera tanto ſalutare, e generalmente bramata dai noſtri popoli, non avrà per avventura nel ſuo cominciamento tutta quella perfezione, a cui (come tutte le altre noſtre coſe, che nate da piccoli principii, perchè guidate dal zelo e dalla giuſtizia, hanno avuti notabiliſſimi accreſcimenti) potrà pervenire con qualche tratto di tempo, baſtando ora a noi, che vi ſiano le ſcuole più neceſſarie, e le più proporzionate al preſente biſogno de' noſtri popoli.

A tale effetto abbiamo preſcelti i più valenti ed accreditati profeſſori, che oltre l' eſſere benemeriti della nazione per molti altri titoli, non per avidità di lucro, o per alettamenti di vanità, ma portati da un puro e ſincero zelo del pubblico bene, impiegheranno ora di buon animo le loro ſtudioſe fatiche ad iſtruire nella maniera più deſiderabile la gioventù, inſegnando giornalmente nelle pubbliche ſcuole dell' univerſità le ſeguenti facoltà, e ſcienze.

I. La Teologia Scolaſtica Dommatica, ove i principii della religione, e le dottrine della cattolica chieſa ſaranno ſpiegate con brevità e ſodezza, e il profeſſore farà altresì una lezione fra ſettimana di Storia Eccleſiaſtica.

II. La Teologia Morale, in cui ſi daranno i precetti, e le regole più ſicure della Criſtiana morale, e in un giorno della ſettimana ſi farà la conferenza di un Caſo pratico relativamente alle materie inſegnate.

III. Le Iſtitute Civile e Canonica, ove ſi moſtrerà l' origine e il vero ſpirito delle leggi, per il miglior uſo delle medeſime.

IV. L' Etica, ſcienza utiliſſima per apprendere le regole del buon cuſtome, e la maniera di ben guidarſi nei differenti impieghi della ſocietà civile, e comprenderà altresì la cognizione del Diritto della Natura, e delle Genti.

V. La Filoſofia ſecondo i ſiſtemi più plauſibili dei moderni filoſofanti, e il profeſſore darà altresì i principii della Matematica.

VI. La Rettorica.

VII. Vi sarà inoltre il comodo di istruirsi in lingua volgare nella Pratica tanto Civile che Criminale.

Le ore per le differenti scuole saranno distribuite in maniera, che chi vorrà potrà intervenire lo stesso giorno a diverse lezioni, e sarà tale il metodo che terranno i professori nell' insegnare, che basterà una mediocre cognizione della lingua Latina per l' intelligenza delle materie, alle quali vorranno applicare.

Invitiamo pertanto tutti i giovani studiosi del nostro regno, tanto ecclesiastici che secolari, a profittare di una occasione sì vantaggiosa, che loro presentiamo: e sopratutto vogliamo persuaderci, che con più ardore, ed in maggior numero vorranno concorrervi i giovani delle famiglie più ragguardevoli e facoltose, alla coltura dei quali essendo principalmente dirette le nostre sollecitudini, avremo cura speciale, che vi siano per loro scuole proporzionate, ad oggetto di fornirli delle necessarie cognizioni per abilitarsi alle pubbliche cariche di consiglieri di stato, di presidenti, auditori, e consultori delle giurisdizioni e provincie, e agli altri ragguardevoli impieghi della nazione, ai quali avendo essi speciale diritto di aspirare, devono mostrare nel tempo stesso un maggiore impegno di contradistinguersi nella coltura de' buoni studii, per rendersi atti a sostenerli con dignità: oltredichè ritrovandosi essi in vicinanza del supremo governo, e presso sua eccellenza il Sig. Generale saranno altresì a portata di dar saggio del loro valore, e bravura in tutti gli incontri, che ne saranno loro presentati per servizio della loro patria.

Ed affine di maggiormente eccitare la loro emulazione, per viepiù aumentare e proteggere i pubblici studii, e favorire chi gli coltiva, seguendo in ciò la massima di tutti i saggi governi, si prenderanno da noi le più efficaci misure perchè alle cariche tanto civili che ecclesiastiche del nostro regno siano sempre preferiti quelli che avranno lodevolmente fatto, ò faranno attualmente il corso dei loro studii in questa nostra università. E poichè siamo rimasti gravemente commossi in vedere ogni anno uscire dal regno un numero troppo grande de' nostri ecclesiastici per passare in Terraferma a titolo di farvi i loro studii, restando ora evacuato questo pretesto, facciamo loro sapere, che in l' avvenire non si concederanno più passaporti per Terraferma.

Si daranno finalmente gli opportuni provvedimenti per agevolare ai giovani studenti tutti i maggiori comodi in questa città, ed il minor dispendio, che sia possibile tanto in riguardo agli allogiamenti, che ai viveri, ed applicheremo a rintracciare i mezzi più

proprii, onde ſupplire in qualche parte alla ſuſſiſtenza degli ſtudenti più poveri.

E perchè questo nostro editto pervenga a notizia di tutti, vogliamo che ſe ne traſmetta copia a tutti i Podeſtà maggiori del regno, ordinando loro di pubblicarlo, ed affiggerlo ne' luoghi ſoliti.

Dato in Corte ai 25 Novembre 1769.

Giuſeppe MARIA MASSESI Gran-Cancelliere.

THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CORSICA; AND MEMOIRS OF PASCAL PAOLI.

Olim meminiſſe juvabit.
VIRG.

THE

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THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CORSICA.

HAVING reſolved to paſs ſome years abroad, for my inſtruction and entertainment, I conceived a deſign of viſiting the iſland of Corſica. I wiſhed for ſomething more than juſt the common courſe of what is called the tour of Europe; and Corſica occurred to me as a place which no body elſe had ſeen, and where I ſhould find what was to be ſeen no where elſe, a people actually fighting for liberty, and forming themſelves from a poor inconſiderable oppreſſed nation, into a flouriſhing and independent ſtate.

When I got into Switzerland, I went to ſee M. Rouſſeau. He was then living in romantick retirement, from whence, perhaps, it had been better for him never to

have defended. While he was at a distance, his ſingular eloquence filled our minds with high ideas of the wild philoſopher. When he came into the walks of men, we know alas! how much theſe ideas ſuffered.

He entertained me very courteouſly; for I was recommended to him by my honoured friend the Earl Mariſchal, with whom I had the happineſs of travelling through a part of Germany. I had heard that M. Rouſſeau had ſome correſpondence with the Corſicans, and had been deſired to aſſiſt them in forming their laws. I told him my ſcheme of going to viſit them, after I had compleated my tour of Italy; and I inſiſted that he ſhould give me a letter of introduction. He immediately agreed to do ſo, whenever I ſhould acquaint him of my time of going thither; for he ſaw that my enthuſiaſm for the brave iſlanders was as warm as his own.

I accordingly wrote to him from Rome, in April 1765, that I had fixed the month of September for my Corſican expedition, and therefore begged of him to ſend me the letter of introduction, which if he refuſed, I ſhould certainly go without it, and probably be hanged as a ſpy. So let him anſwer for the conſequences.

The wild philosopher was a man of his word; and on my arrival at Florence in August, I received the following letter.

A MONSIEUR, MONSIEUR BOSWELL, &c.

A Motiers le 30 May, 1765.

'LA crise orageuse ou je me trouve, Monsieur, depuis votre depart d'ici, m'a oté le tems de repondre à votre premiére lettre, et me laisse à peine celui de repondre en peu de mots à la seconde. Pour m'en tenir à ce qui presse pour le moment, savoir la recommendation que vous desirez en Corse; puisque vous avez le desir de visiter ces braves insulaires, vous pourrez vous informer à Bastia, de M. Buttafoco capitaine au Regiment Royal Italien; il a sa maison à Vescovado, ou il se tient assez souvent. C'est un très-galant homme, qui a des connoissances et de l'esprit; il suffira de lui montrer cette lettre, et je suis sur qu'il vous recevra bien, et contribuera à vous faire voir l'isle et ses habitans avec satisfaction. Si vous ne trouvez pas M. Buttafoco, et que vous vouliez aller out droit à M. Pascal de Paoli general de la nation, vous pouvez egalement lui montrer cette lettre,

‘et je ſuis ſur, connoiſſant la nobleſſe de ſon ‘caractére, que vous ſerez très-content de ‘ſon accueil: vous pourrez lui dire même ‘que vous étes aimé de Mylord Mareſchal ‘d'Ecoſſe, et que Mylord Mareſchal eſt un ‘des plus zelés partizans de la nation Corſe. ‘Au reſte vous n'avez beſoin d'autre re- ‘commendation près de ces Meſſieurs que ‘votre propre mérite, la nation Corſe etant ‘naturellement ſi accueillante et ſi hoſpi- ‘taliére, que tous les etrangers y ſont bien ‘venus et careſſés.

* * * * * * *

‘Bons et heureux voyages, ſante, gaieté ‘et promt retour. Je vous embraſſe, Mon- ‘ſieur, de tout mon coeur

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

TO Mr. BOSWELL &c.

MOTIERS the 30 May 1765.

‘THE ſtormy criſis in which I have found ‘myſelf, ſince your departure from this, ‘has not allowed me any leiſure to anſwer ‘your firſt letter, and hardly allows me ‘leiſure to reply in a few words to your ‘ſecond. To confine myſelf to what is im- ‘mediately preſſing, the recommendation

'which you ask for Corſica, ſince you have 'a deſire to viſit theſe brave iſlanders, you 'may enquire at Baſtia for M. Buttafoco, 'captain of the Royal Italian Regiment; 'his houſe is at Veſcovado, where he re- 'ſides pretty often. He is a very worthy 'man, and has both knowledge and genius; 'it will be ſufficient to ſhew him this letter, 'and I am ſure he will receive you well, 'and will contribute to let you ſee the 'iſland and its inhabitants with ſatisfaction. 'If you do not find M. Buttafoco, and will 'go directly to M. Paſcal Paoli General of 'the nation, you may in the ſame manner 'ſhew him this letter, and as I know the 'nobleneſs of his character, I am ſure you 'will be very well pleaſed at your reception. 'You may even tell him that you are liked 'by My Lord Mariſchal of Scotland, and 'that My Lord Mariſchal is one of the 'moſt zealous partiſans of the Corſican na- 'tion. You need no other recommendation 'to theſe gentlemen but your own merit, 'the Corſicans being naturally ſo courteous 'and hoſpitable, that all ſtrangers who 'come among them, are made welcome 'and careſſed.

* * * * * * *

I wish you agreeable and fortunate travels, health, gaiety, and a speedy return. I embrace you Sir with all my heart.

JOHN JAMES ROUSSEAU.

Furnished with these credentials, I was impatient to be with the illustrious Chief. The charms of sweet Siena detained me longer than they should have done. I required the hardy air of Corsica to brace me after the delights of Tuscany.

I recollect with astonishment how little the real state of Corsica was known, even by those who had good access to know it! An officer of rank in the British navy, who had been in several ports of the island, told me that I run the risk of my life in going among these barbarians; for, that his surgeon's mate went ashore to take the diversion of shooting, and every moment was alarmed by some of the natives, who started from the bushes with loaded guns, and if he had not been protected by Corsican guides, would have certainly blown out his brains.

Nay at Leghorn, which is within a day's

failing of Corſica, and has a conſtant intercourſe with it. I found people who diſſuaded me from going thither, becauſe it might be dangerous.

I was however under no apprehenſion in going to Corſica; Count Rivarola the Sardinian conſul, who is himſelf a Corſican, aſſuring me that the iſland was then in a very civilized ſtate; and beſides, that in the rudeſt times no Corſican would ever attack a ſtranger. The Count was ſo good as to give me moſt obliging letters to many people in the iſland. I had now been in ſeveral foreign countries. I had found that I was able to accommodate myſelf to my fellow-creatures of different languages and ſentiments. I did not fear that it would be a difficult talk for me to make myſelf eaſy with the plain and generous Corſicans.

The only danger I ſaw was, that I might be taken by ſome of the Barbary Corſairs, and have a tryal of ſlavery among the Turks at Algiers. I ſpoke of it to Commodore Harriſon, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and was then lying with his ſhip the Centurion, in the bay of Leghorn. He aſſured me, that if

proprii, onde ſupplire in qualche parte alla ſuſſiſtenza degli ſtudenti più poveri.

E perchè queſto nostro editto pervenga à notizia di tutti, vogliamo che ſe ne traſmetta copia a tutti i Podeſtà maggiori del regno, ordinando loro di pubblicarlo, ed affiggerlo ne' luoghi ſoliti.

Dato in Corte ſi 25 Novembre 1764.

Giuſeppe MARIA MASSESI Gran-Cancelliere.

THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CORSICA; AND MEMOIRS OF PASCAL PAOLI.

Olim meminiſſe juvabit.

VIRG.

the Turks did take me, they should not keep me long; but in order to prevent it, he was ſo good as to grant me a very ample and particular paſſport; and as it could be of no uſe if I did not meet the Corſairs, he ſaid very pleaſantly when he gave it me, "I hope, Sir, it will be of no uſe to you."

Before I left Leghorn, I could obſerve, that my tour was looked upon by the Italian politicians in a very ſerious light, as if truly I had a commiſſion from my Court, to negociate a treaty with the Corſicans. The more I diſclaimed any ſuch thing; the more they perſevered in affirming it; and I was conſidered as a very cloſe young man. I therefore allowed them to make a miniſter of me, till time ſhould undeceive them.

I ſailed from Leghorn in a Tuſcan veſſel, which was going over to Capo Corſo for wine. I preferred this to a veſſel going to Baſtia, becauſe, as I did not know how the French general was affected towards the Corſicans, I was afraid that he might not permit me to go forward to Paoli. I therefore reſolved to land on the territories of the nation, and after I had been with the illuſtrious Chief, to pay my reſpects to the French if I ſhould find it ſafe.

Though from Leghorn to Corsica is usually but one day's sailing, there was so dead a calm that it took us two days. The first day was the most tedious. However, there were two or three Corsicans aboard, and one of them played on the Citra, which amused me a good deal. At sun-set all the people in the ship sung the Ave Maria, with great devotion and some melody. It was pleasing to enter into the spirit of their religion, and hear them offering up their evening orisons.

The second day we became better acquainted, and more lively and chearful. The worthy Corsicans thought it was proper to give a moral lesson to a young traveller just come from Italy. They told me that, in their country I should be treated with the greatest hospitality; but if I attempted to debauch any of their women, I might lay my account with instant death.

I employed myself several hours in rowing, which gave me great spirits. I relished fully my approach to the island, which had acquired an unusual grandeur in my imagination. As long as I can remember any thing, I have heard of 'The malecontents of Corsica, with Paoli at their head.'

It was a curious thought that I was going to see them.

About seven o'clock at night, I was landed safely in the harbour of Centuri. I learned that Signor Giaccomini of this place, to whom I was recommended by Count Rivarola, was just dead. He had made a handsome fortune in the East Indies; and having had a remarkable warmth in the cause of liberty during his whole life, he shewed it in the strongest manner in his last will. He bequeathed a considerable sum of money, and some pieces of ordinance, to the nation. He also left it in charge to his heir, to live in Corsica, and be firm in the patriotick interest; and if ever the island should again be reduced under the power of the Genoese, he ordered him to retire with all his effects to Leghorn. Upon these conditions only could his heir enjoy his estate.

I was directed to the house of Signor Giaccomini's cousin, Signor Antonio Antonetti at Morsiglia, about a mile up the country. The prospect of the mountains covered with vines and olives, was extremely agreeable; and the odour of the myrtle and other aromatick shrubs and flowers that grew all around me, was very refreshing. As I

wilderness, I often saw Corsican peasants come suddenly out from the covert; and as they were all armed, I saw how the frighted imagination of the surgeon's mate had raised up so many assassins. Even the man who carried my baggage was armed, and had I been timorous might have alarmed me. But he and I were very good company to each other. As it grew dusky, I repeated to myself these lines from a fine passage in Ariosto.

E pur per selve oscure e calli obliqui
Insieme van, senza sospetto aversi.

ARIOST. Canto I.

Together through dark woods and winding ways
They walk, nor on their hearts suspicion preys.

I delivered Signor Antonetti the letter for his deceased cousin. He read it, and received me with unaffected cordiality, making an apology for my frugal entertainment, but assuring me of a hearty welcome. His true kindly hospitality was also shewn in taking care of my servant, an honest Swiss, who loved to eat and drink well.

I had formed a strange notion that I should see every thing in Corsica totally different from what I had seen in any other country. I was therefore much surprised to find Signor Antonetti's house quite an Italian

one, with very good furniture, prints, and copies of ſome of the famous pictures. In particular, I was ſtruck to find here a ſmall copy from Raphael, of St. Michael and the Dragon. There was no neceſſity for its being well done. To ſee the thing at all was what ſurpriſed me.

Signor Antonetti gave me an excellent light repaſt, and a very good bed. He ſpoke with great ſtrength of the patriotick cauſe, and with great veneration of the General. I was quite eaſy, and liked much the opening of my Corſican tour.

The next day, being Sunday, it rained very hard; and I muſt obſerve that the Corſicans with all their reſolution, are afraid of bad weather, to a degree of effeminacy. I got indeed a droll but juſt account of this, from one of them. 'Sir, ſaid he, if you were 'as poor as a Corſican, and had but one 'coat, ſo as that after being wet, you could 'not put on dry cloaths, you would be a-'fraid too.' Signor Antonetti would not allow me to ſet out while it rained, for, ſaid he, 'Quando ſi trova fuori, patienza; ma di 'andare fuori è cattivo. If a man finds 'himſelf abroad, there is no help for it. 'But to go deliberately out, is too much.'

When the day grew a little better, I accompanied Signor Antonetti and his family, to hear mass in the parish church, a very pretty little building, about half a quarter of a mile off.

Signor Antonetti's parish priest was to preach to us, at which I was much pleased, being very curious to hear a Corsican sermon.

Our priest did very well. His text was in the Psalms. 'Descendunt ad infernum viventes. They go down alive into the pit.'

After endeavouring to move our passions with a description of the horrours of hell, he told us, 'Saint Catherine of Siena wished to be 'laid on the mouth of this dreadful pit, that 'she might stop it up, so as no more unhappy souls should fall into it. I confess, 'my brethren, I have not the zeal of holy 'Saint Catherine. But I do what I can; I 'warn you how to avoid it.' He then gave us some good practical advices and concluded.

The weather being now cleared up, I took leave of the worthy gentleman to whom I had been a guest. He gave me a letter to Signor Damiano Tomasi Padre del Commune at Pino, the next village. I got a

man with an aſs to carry my baggage. But ſuch a road I never ſaw. It was abſolutely ſcrambling along the face of a rock overhanging the ſea, upon a path ſometimes not above a foot broad. I thought the aſs rather retarded me; ſo I prevailed with the man, to take my portmanteau and other things on his back.

Had I formed my opinion of Corſica from what I ſaw this morning, I might have been in as bad humour with it, as Seneca was, whoſe reflections in proſe are not inferiour to his epigrams. 'Quid tam nudum inveniri poteſt, quid tam abruptum undique quam hoc ſaxum? quid ad copias reſpicienti jejunius? quid ad homines immanſuetius? quid ad ipſum loci ſitum horridius? Plures tamen hîc peregrini quam cives conſiſtunt? uſque eò ergo commutatio ipſa locorum gravis non eſt, ut hic quoque locus a patria quoſdam abduxerit (a). 'What can be found ſo bare, what ſo rugged all around as this rock? what more barren of proviſions? what more rude as to its inhabitants? what in the very ſituation of the place more horrible? what in climate more intemperate? yet there are more ſo-

(a) Seneca de Conſolatione.

reigners than natives here. So far then is a change of place from being disagreeable, that even this place hath brought some people away from their country.

At Pino I was surprised to find myself met by some brisk young fellows dress like English sailors, and speaking English tolerably well. They had been often with cargoes of wine at Leghorn, where they had picked up what they knew of our language, and taken clothes in part of payment for some of their merchandise.

I was cordially entertained at Signor Tomasi's. Throughout all Corsica, except in garrison towns, there is hardly an inn. I met with a single one, about eight miles from Corte. Before I was accustomed to the Corsican hospitality, I sometimes forgot myself, and imagining I was in a publick house, called for what I wanted, with the tone which one uses in calling to the waiters at a tavern. I did so at Pino, asking for a variety of things at once; when Signora Tomasi perceiving my mistake, looked in my face and smiled, saying with much calmness and good nature, Una cosa dopo un altra, Signore. One thing after another, Sir.

In writing this journal, I ſhall not tire my readers, with relating the occurrences of each particular day. It will be much more agreeable to them, to have a free and continued account of what I ſaw or heard, moſt worthy of obſervation.

For ſome time, I had very curious travelling, moſtly on foot, and attended by a couple of ſtout women, who carried my baggage upon their heads. Every time that I prepared to ſet out from a village, I could not help laughing, to ſee the good people eager to have my equipage in order, and roaring out, 'Le Donne, Le Donne. The Women, The Women.'

I had full leiſure and the beſt opportunities to obſerve every thing, in my progreſs through the iſland. I was lodged ſometimes in private houſes, ſometimes in convents, being always well recommended from place to place. The firſt convent in which I lay, was at Canari. It appeared a little odd at firſt. But I ſoon learnt to repair to my dormitory as naturally as if I had been a friar for ſeven years.

The convents were ſmall decent buildings, ſuited to the ſober ideas of their pious inha-

bitants. The religious who devoutly endeavour to 'walk with GOD,' are often treated with raillery by those whom pleasure or business prevents from thinking of future and more exalted objects. A little experience of the serenity and peace of mind to be found in convents, would be of use to temper the fire of men of the world.

At Patrimonio I found the seat of a provincial magistracy. The chief judge was there, and entertained me very well. Upon my arrival, the captain of the guard came out, and demanded who I was? I replied 'Inglese Engliſh.' He looked at me seriously, and then said in a tone between regret and upbraiding, 'Inglese, c'erano i nostri amici; ma non le sono più. The Engliſh; they were once our friends; but they are so no more.' I felt for my country, and was abashed before this honest soldier.

At Oletta I visited Count Nicholas Rivarola, brother to my friend at Leghorn. He received me with great kindness, and did every thing in his power to make me easy. I found here a Corsican who thought better of the Britiſh, than the captain of the guard at Patrimonio. He talked of our bombard-

ing Sig. Fiorenzo, in favour of the patriots, and willingly gave me his horse for the afternoon, which he said he would not have done to a man of any other nation.

When I came to Morato, I had the pleasure of being made acquainted with Signor Barbaggi, who is married to the niece of Paoli. I found him to be a ſenſible intelligent well-bred man. The mint of Corſica was in his houſe. I got ſpecimens of their different kinds of money in ſilver and copper, and was told that they hoped in a year or two to ſtrike ſome gold coins. Signor Barbaggi's houſe was repairing, ſo I was lodged in the convent. But in the morning returned to breakfaſt, and had chocolate; and at dinner we had no leſs than twelve well-dreſt diſhes, ſerved on Dreſden china, with a deſert, different ſorts of wine and a liqueur, all the produce of Corſica. Signor Barbaggi was frequently repeating to me, that the Corſicans inhabited a rude uncultivated country, and that they lived like Spartans. I begged leave to aſk him in what country he could ſhew me greater luxury than I had ſeen in his houſe; and I ſaid I ſhould certainly tell wherever I went, what tables the Corſicans kept, notwithſtanding

their pretensions to poverty and temperance. A good deal of pleasantry passed upon this. His lady was a genteel woman, and appeared to be agreeable, though very reserved.

From Morato to Corte, I travelled through a wild mountainous rocky country, diversified with some large valleys. I got little beasts for me and my servant, sometimes horses, but oftener mules or asses. We had no bridles, but cords fixed round their necks, with which we managed them as well as we could.

At Corte I waited upon the supreme council, to one of whom, Signor Boccociampe, I had a letter from Signor Barbaggi. I was very politely received, and was conducted to the Franciscan convent, where I got the apartment of Paoli, who was then some days journey beyond the mountains, holding a court of syndicato at a village called Sollacard.

As the General resided for some time in this convent, the fathers made a better appearance than any I saw in the island. I was principally attended by the Pridur, a very solute divine, who had formerly been in the army, and by Padre Giulio, a man of much address, who still favours me with his correspondence.

Theſe fathers have a good vineyard and an excellent garden. They have between 30 and 40 bee-hives in long wooden caſes or trunks of trees, with a covering of the bark of the cork tree. When they want honey, they burn a little juniper-wood, the ſmoak of which makes the bees retire. They then take an iron inſtrument with a ſharp-edged crook at one end of it, and bring out the greateſt part of the honey-comb, leaving only a little for the bees, who work the caſe full again. By taking the honey in this way, they never kill a bee. They ſeemed much at their eaſe, living in peace and plenty. I often joked them with the text which is applied to their order, 'Nihil habentes et omnia poſſidentes. Having nothing, and yet poſſeſſing all things.'

I went to the choir with them. The ſervice was conducted with propriety, and Padre Giulio played on the organ. On the great altar of their church is a tabernacle carved in wood by a Religious. It is a piece of exquiſite workmanſhip. A Genoeſe gentleman offered to give them one in ſilver for it; but they would not make the exchange.

Theſe fathers have no library worth mentioning; but their convent is large and well

built. I looked about with great attention, to ſee if I could find any inſcriptions; but the only one I found was upon a certain uſeful edifice.

Sine neceſſitate huc non intrate,
Quia neceſſaria ſumus.

A ſtudied, rhiming, Latin conceit marked upon ſuch a place was truly ludicrous.

I choſe to ſtop a while at Corte, to repoſe myſelf after my fatigues, and to ſee every thing about the capital of Corſica.

The morning after my arrival here, three French deſerters deſired to ſpeak with me. The fooliſh fellows had taken it into their heads, that I was come to raiſe recruits for Scotland, and ſo they begged to have the honour of going along with me; I ſuppoſe with intention to have the honour of running off from me, as they had done from their own regiments.

I received many civilities at Corte from Signor Boccociampe, and from Signor Maſſeſi the Great Chancellor, whoſe ſon Signor Luigi a young gentleman of much vivacity, and natural politeneſs, was ſo good as to attend me conſtantly as my conductour. I uſed to call him my governour. I liked

him much, for as he had never been out of the island, his ideas were entirely Corsican.

Such of the members of the supreme council as were in residence during my stay at Corte, I found to be solid and sagacious, men of penetration and ability, well calculated to assist the General in forming his political plans, and in turning to the best advantage, the violence and enterprises of the people.

The university was not then sitting, so I could only see the rooms, which were shewn me by the Abbé Valentini, procuratour of the university. The professours were all absent except one Capuchin father whom I visited at his convent. It is a tolerable building, with a pretty large collection of books. There is in the church here a tabernacle carved in wood, in the manner of that at the Franciscans, but much inferiour to it.

I went up to the castle of Corte. The commandant very civilly shewed me every part of it. As I wished to see all things in Corsica, I desired to see even the unhappy criminals. There were then three in the castle, a man for the murder of his wife; a married lady who had hired one of her servants to strangle a woman of whom she

was jealous: and the ſervant who had actually perpetrated this barbarous action. They were brought out from their cells, that I might talk with them. The murderer of his wife had a ſtupid hardened appearance, and told me he did it at the inſtigation of the devil. The ſervant was a poor deſpicable wretch. He had at firſt accuſed his miſtreſs, but was afterwards prevailed with to deny his accuſation, upon which he was put to the torture, by having lighted matches held between his fingers. This made him return to what he had formerly ſaid, ſo as to be a ſtrong evidence againſt his miſtreſs. His hands were ſo miſerably ſcorched, that he was a piteous object. I aſked him why he had committed ſuch a crime, he ſaid, 'Perche era ſenza ſpirito. Becauſe I was without underſtanding.' The lady ſeemed of a bold and reſolute ſpirit. She ſpoke to me with great firmneſs, and denied her guilt, ſaying with a contemptuous ſmile, as ſhe pointed to her ſervant, 'They can force that creature to ſay what they pleaſe.'

The hangman of Corſica was a great curioſity. Being held in the utmoſt deteſtation, he durſt not live like another inhabitant of the iſland. He was obliged to take

refuge in the caſtle, and there he was kept in a little corner turret, where he had juſt room for a miſerable bed, and a little bit of fire to dreſs ſuch victuals for himſelf as were ſufficient to keep him alive, for nobody would have any intercourſe with him, but all turned their backs upon him. I went up and looked at him. And a more dirty mer-ful ſpectacle I never beheld. He ſeemed ſenſible of his ſituation, and held down his head like an abhorred outcaſt.

It was a long time before they could get a hangman in Corſica, ſo that the punish-ment of the gallows was hardly known, all their criminals being ſhot. At laſt this creature whom I ſaw, who is a Sicilian, came with a meſſage to Paoli. The Gener-ral who has a wonderful talent for phyſiog-nomy, on ſeeing the man, ſaid immedi-ately to ſome of the people about him, 'Ecco il boia. Behold our hangman.' He gave orders to aſk the man if he would ac-cept of the office, and his anſwer was, 'My grandfather was a hangman, my fa-ther was a hangman. I have been a hang-man myſelf, and am willing to continue ſo.' He was therefore immediately put into office, and the ignominious death diſpenſed

by his hands, hath had more effect than twenty executions by fire arms.

It is remarkable that no Corſican would upon any account conſent to be hangman. Not the greateſt criminals, who might have had their lives upon that condition. Even the wretch, who for a paultry hire, had ſtrangled a woman, would rather ſubmit to death, than do the ſame action, as the executioner of the law.

When I had ſeen every thing about Corte, I prepared for my journey over the mountains, that I might be with Paoli. The night before I ſet out, I recollected that I had forgotten to get a paſſport, which, in the preſent ſituation of Corſica, is ſtill a neceſſary precaution. After ſupper therefore the Priour walked with me to Corte, to the houſe of the Great Chancellor, who ordered the paſſport to be made out immediately, and while his ſecretary was writing it, entertained me by reading to me ſome of the minutes of the general conſulta. When the paſſport was finiſhed, and ready to have the ſeal put to it, I was much pleaſed with a beautiful, ſimple incident. The Chancellor deſired a little boy who was playing in the room by us, to run to his

mother, and bring the great seal of the kingdom. I thought myself sitting in the boat of a Cincinnatus.

Next morning I set out in very good order, having excellent mules, and active clever Corsican guides. The worthy fathers of the convent who treated me in the kindest manner while I was their guest, would also give me some provisions for my journey; so they put up a gourd of their best wine, and some delicious pomegranates. My Corsican guides appeared so hearty, that I often got down and walked along with them, doing just what I saw them do. When we grew hungry, we threw stones among the thick branches of the chestnut trees which overshadowed us, and in that manner we brought down a shower of chestnuts with which we filled our pockets, and went on eating them with great relish; and when this made us thirsty, we lay down by the side of the first brook, put our mouths to the stream, and drank sufficiently. It was just being for a little while, one of the 'prisca gens mortalium, the primitive race of men,' who ran about in the woods eating acorns and drinking water.

[illegible] stopped to refresh my mules at a little village, the inhabitants came crouding about me as an ambaſſadour going to their General. When they were informed of my country, a ſtrong black fellow among them ſaid, 'Ingleſe! ſono barbari; non 'credono in Dio grande.' Engliſh! they 'are barbarians; they don't believe in the 'great God.' I told him, Excuſe me Sir. We do believe in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt too. 'Um, ſaid he, e nel Papa? and in 'the Pope?' No. 'E perche?' And why?' This was a puzzling queſtion in theſe circumſtances; for there was a great audience to the controverſy. I thought I would try a method of my own, and very gravely replied, 'Perche ſiamo troppo lontani. 'Because we are too far off.' A very new argument againſt the univerſal infallibility of the Pope. It took however; for my opponent muſed a while, and then ſaid, 'Troppo 'lontano! La Sicilia è tanto lontana che 'l'Inghilterra; e in Sicilia ſi credono nel 'Papa. Too far off! Why Sicily is as far 'off as England. Yet in Sicily they believe 'in the Pope. O, ſaid I, noi ſiamo dieci 'volte più lontani che la Sicilia! We are 'ten times farther off than Sicily. 'Aha!'

ſaid he; and ſeemed quite ſatisfied. In this manner I got off very well. I queſtion much whether any of the learned maſonings of our proteſtant divines would have had ſo good an effect.

My journey over the mountains was very entertaining. I paſt ſome immenſe ridges and waſt woods. I was in great health and ſpirits, and fully able to enter into the ideas of the brave rude men whom I found in all quarters.

At Baſtelica where there is a ſtately ſpirited race of people, I had a large company to attend me in the convent. I liked to ſee their natural frankneſs and eaſe; for why ſhould men be afraid of their own ſpecies? They came in making an eaſy bow, placed themſelves round the room where I was ſitting, reſted themſelves on their muſkets, and immediately entered into converſation with me. They talked very feelingly of the miſeries that their country had endured, and complained that they were ſtill but in a ſtate of poverty. I happened at that time to have an unuſual flow of ſpirits; and as one who finds himſelf amongſt utter ſtrangers in a diſtant country has no timidity, I harangued the men of Baſtelica with

great fluency. I expatiated on the bravery of the Corſicans, by which they had purchaſed liberty, the moſt valuable of all poſſeſſions, and rendered themſelves glorious over all Europe. Their poverty, I told them, might be remedied by a proper cultivation of their iſland, and by engaging a little in commerce. But I bid them remember, that they were much happier in their preſent ſtate than in a ſtate of refinement and vice, and that therefore they ſhould beware of luxury.

What I ſaid had the good fortune to touch them, and ſeveral of them repeated the ſame ſentiments much better than I could do. They all expreſſed their ſtrong attachment to Paoli, and called out in one voice that they were all at his command. I could with pleaſure, have paſſed a long time here.

At Ornano I ſaw the ruins of the ſeat where the great Sampiero had his reſidence. They were a droll ſociety of monks in the convent at Ornano. When I told them that I was an Engliſhman, 'Aye, aye, ſaid 'one of them, as was well obſerved by a 'reverend biſhop, when talking of your 'pretended reformation, Angli olim angeli 'nunc diaboli. The Engliſh formerly an-

gels now devils.' I looked upon this as an honeſt effuſion of ſpiritual zeal. The Fathers took good care of me in temporals.

When I at laſt came within ſight of Sollacaro, where Paoli was, I could not help being under conſiderable anxiety. My ideas of him had been greatly heightened by the converſations I had held with all ſorts of people in the iſland, they having repreſented him to me as ſomething above humanity. I had the ſtrongeſt deſire to ſee ſo exalted a character; but I feared that I ſhould be unable to give a proper account why I had preſumed to trouble him with a viſit, and that I ſhould ſink to nothing before him. I almoſt wiſhed to go back without ſeeing him. Theſe workings of ſenſibility employed my mind till I rode through the village and came up to the houſe where he was lodged.

Leaving my ſervant with my guides, I paſt through the guards, and was met by ſome of the General's people, who conducted me into an antichamber, where were ſeveral gentlemen in waiting. Signor Boccociampe had notified my arrival, and I was ſhewn into Paoli's room. I found him alone, and was ſtruck with his appearance. He is tall, ſtrong, and well made; of a

fair complexion, a ſenſible, free, and open countenance, and a manly, and noble carriage. He was then in his fortieth year. He was dreſt in green and gold. He uſed to wear the common Corſican habit, but on the arrival of the French he thought a little external elegance might be of uſe to make the government appear in a more reſpectable light.

He aſked me what were my commands for him. I preſented him a letter from Count Rivarola, and when he had read it, I ſhewed him my letter from Rouſſeau. He was polite, but very reſerved. I had ſtood in the preſence of many a prince, but I never had ſuch a trial as in the preſence of Paoli. I have already ſaid, that he is a great phyſiognomiſt. In conſequence of his being in continual danger from treachery and aſſaſſination, he has formed a habit of ſtudiouſly obſerving every new face. For ten minutes we walked backwards and forwards through the room, hardly ſaying a word, while he looked at me, with a ſtedfaſt, keen and penetrating eye, as if he ſearched my very ſoul.

This interview was for a while very ſevere upon me. I was much relieved when

his reſerve wore off, and he began to ſpeak more. I then ventured to addreſs him with this compliment to the Corſicans: 'Sir, I am upon my travels, and have lately viſited Rome. I am come from ſeeing the ruins of one brave and free people: I now ſee the riſe of another.'

He received my compliment very graciouſly; but obſerved that the Corſicans had no chance of being like the Romans, a great conquering nation, who ſhould extend its empire over half the globe. Their ſituation, and the modern political ſyſtems, rendered this impoſſible. But, ſaid he, Corſica may be a very happy country.

He expreſſed a high admiration of M. Rouſſeau, whom Signor Buttafoco had invited to Corſica, to aid the nation in forming its laws.

It ſeems M. de Voltaire had reported, in his rallying manner, that the invitation was merely a trick which he had put upon Rouſſeau. Paoli told me that when he underſtood this, he himſelf wrote to Rouſſeau, enforcing the invitation. Of this affair I ſhall give a full account in an after part of my Journal.

Some of the nobles who attended him came into the room, and presently we were told that dinner was served up. The General did me the honour to place me next him. He had a table of fifteen or sixteen covers, having always a good many of the principal men of the island with him. He had an Italian cook who had been long in France; but he chose to have a few plain substantial dishes, avoiding every kind of luxury, and drinking no foreign wine.

I felt myself under some constraint in such a circle of heroes. The General talked a great deal on history and on literature. I soon perceived that he was a fine classical scholar, that his mind was enriched with a variety of knowledge, and that his conversation at meals was instructive and entertaining. Before dinner he conversed in French. He now spoke Italian, in which he is very eloquent.

We retired to another room to drink coffee. My timidity wore off. I no longer anxiously thought of myself; my whole attention was employed in listening to the illustrious commander of a nation.

He recommended me to the care of the

Abbé Roſſini, who had lived many years in France. Signor Colonna, the lord of the manor here being from home, his houſe was aſſigned for me to live in. I was left by myſelf till near ſupper time, when I returned to the General, whoſe converſation improved upon me, as did the ſociety of thoſe about him, with whom I gradually formed an acquaintance.

Every day I felt myſelf happier. Particular marks of attention were ſhewn me as a ſubject of Great Britain, the report of which went over to Italy, and confirmed the conjectures that I was really an envoy. In the morning I had my chocolate ſerved up upon a ſilver ſalver adorned with the arms of Corſica. I dined and ſupped conſtantly with the General. I was viſited by all the nobility, and whenever I choſe to make a little tour, I was attended by a party of guards. I begged of the General not to treat me with ſo much ceremony; but he inſiſted upon it.

One day when I rode out I was mounted on Paoli's own horſe, with rich furniture of crimſon velvet, with broad gold lace, and had my guards marching along with me. I allowed myſelf to indulge a momentary

pride in this parade, as I was curious to experience what could really be the pleasure of state and distinction with which mankind are so strangely intoxicated.

When I returned to the continent after all this greatness, I used to joke with my acquaintance, and tell them that I could not bear to live with them, for they did not treat me with a proper respect.

My time passed here in the most agreeable manner. I enjoyed a sort of luxury of noble sentiment. Paoli became more affable with me. I made myself known to him. I forgot the great distance between us, and had every day some hours of private conversation with him.

From my first setting out on this tour, I wrote down every night what I had observed during the day, throwing together a great deal, that I might afterwards select at leisure.

Of these particulars, the most valuable to my readers, as well as to myself, must surely be the memoirs and remarkable sayings of Paoli, which I am proud to record.

Talking of the Corsican war, Sir, said he, if the event prove happy, we shall be called great defenders of liberty. If the

event ſhall prove unhappy, we ſhall be called unfortunate rebels.

The French objected to him that the Corſican nation had no regular troops. We would not have them, ſaid Paoli. We ſhould then have the bravery of this and the other regiment. At preſent every ſingle man is as a regiment himſelf. Should the Corſicans be formed into regular troops, we ſhould loſe that perſonal bravery which has produced ſuch actions among us, as in another country would have rendered famous even a Mariſchal.

I aſked him how he could poſſibly have a ſoul ſo ſuperiour to intereſt. 'It is not ſuperiour, ſaid he; my intereſt is to gain a name. I know well that he who does good to his country will gain that: and I expect it. Yet could I render this people happy, I would be content to be forgotten. I have an unſpeakable pride, "Una ſuperbia indicibile." The approbation of my own heart is enough.'

He ſaid he ſhould have great pleaſure in ſeeing the world, and enjoying the ſociety of the learned, and the accompliſhed in every country. I aſked him how with theſe diſpoſitions, he could bear to be confined to an iſland yet in a rude uncivilized ſtate; and

instead of participating Attick evenings, 'noctes coenaeque Deûm,' he in a continual course of care and of danger. He replied in one line of Virgil,

Vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

This uttered with the fine open Italian pronunciation, and the graceful dignity of his manner, was very noble. I wished to have a statue of him taken at that moment.

I asked him if he understood English. He immediately began and spoke it, which he did tolerably well. When at Naples, he had known several Irish gentlemen who were officers in that service. Having a great facility in acquiring languages, he learnt English from them. But as he had been now ten years without ever speaking it, he spoke very slow. One could see that he was possessed of the words, but for want of what I may call mechanical practice, he had a difficulty in expressing himself.

I was diverted with his English library. It consisted of

Some broken volumes of the Spectatour and Tatler.

Pope's Essay on Man.

Gulliver's Travels.

A History of France, in old English.
And
Barclay's Apology for the Quakers.

I promiſed to ſend him ſome Engliſh books*.

He convinced me how well he underſtood our language; for I took the liberty to ſhew him a Memorial which I had drawn up on the advantages to great Britain from an alliance with Corſica, and he tranſlated this memorial into Italian with the greateſt facility. He has ſince given me more proofs of his knowledge of our tongue by his anſwers to the letters which I have had the honour to write to him in Engliſh, and in particular by a very judicious and ingenious criticiſm on ſome of Swift's works.

He was well acquainted with the hiſtory of Britain. He had read many of the parliamentary debates, and had even ſeen a number of the North Briton. He ſhewed a conſiderable knowledge of this country, and

* I have ſent him the Works of Harrington, of Sidney, of Addiſon, of Trenchard, of Gordon, and of other writers in favour of liberty. I have alſo ſent him ſome of our beſt books of morality and entertainment, in particular the Works of Mr. Samuel Johnſon, with a compleat ſet of the Spectatour, Tatler and Guardian; and to the Univerſity of Corte, I have ſent a few of the Greek and Roman Claſſicks, of the beautiful editions of the Meſſieurs Foulis at Glaſgow.

often introduced anecdotes and drew comparisons and allusions from Britain.

He said his great object was to form the Corsicans in such a manner that they might have a firm constitution, and might be able to subsist without him. 'Our state, said he, is young, and still requires the leading strings. I am desirous that the Corsicans should be taught to walk of themselves. Therefore when they come to me to ask whom they shall chuse for their Padre del Commune, or other Magistrate, I tell them, You know better than I do, the able and honest men among your neighbours. Consider the consequence of your choice, not only to yourselves in particular, but to the island in general. In this manner I accustom them to feel their own importance as members of the state.'

After representing the severe and melancholy state of oppression under which Corsica had so long groaned, he said, 'We are now to our country like the prophet Elishah stretched over the dead child of the Shunamite, eye to eye, nose to nose, mouth to mouth. It begins to recover warmth, and to revive, I hope it will yet regain full health and vigour.'

A Hiſtory of France, in old Engliſh.
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I ſaid that things would make a rapid progreſs, and that we ſhould ſoon ſee all the arts and ſciences flouriſh in Corſica. Patience Sir, ſaid he. If you ſaw a man who had fought a hard battle, who was much wounded, who was beaten to the ground, and who with difficulty could lift himſelf up, it would not be reaſonable to aſk him to get his hair well dreſt, and to put on embroidered clothes. Corſica has fought a hard battle, has been much wounded, has been beaten to the ground, and with difficulty can lift herſelf up. The arts and ſciences are like dreſs and ornament. You cannot expect them from us for ſome time. But come back twenty or thirty years hence, and we'll ſhew you arts and ſciences, and concerts and aſſemblies, and fine ladies, and we'll make you fall in love among us, Sir.

He ſmiled a good deal, when I told him that I was much ſurpriſed to find him ſo amiable, accompliſhed, and polite; for although I knew I was to ſee a great man, I expected to find a rude character, an Attila king of the Goths, or a Luitprand king of the Lombards.

I obſerved that although he had often a placid ſmile upon his countenance, he hard-

ly ever laughed. Whether loud laughter in general ſociety be a ſign of weakneſs or ruſticity, I cannot ſay; but I have remarked that real great men, and men of finiſhed behaviour, ſeldom fall into it.

The variety, and I may ſay verſatility, of the mind of this great man is amazing. One day when I came in to pay my reſpects to him before dinner, I found him in much agitation, with a circle of his nobles around him, and a Corſican ſtanding before him like a criminal before his judge. Paoli immediately turned to me, 'I am glad you are come, Sir. You proteſtants talk much againſt our doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Behold here the miracle of tranſubſtantiation, a Corſican tranſubſtantiated into a Genoeſe. That unworthy man who now ſtands before me is a Corſican, who has been long a lieutenant under the Genoeſe, in Capo Corſo. Andrew Doria and all their greateſt heroes could not be more violent for the republick than he has been, and all againſt his country.' Then turning to the man, 'Sir, ſaid he, Corſica makes it a rule to pardon the moſt unworthy of her children, when they ſurrender themſelves, even when they are forced to do ſo, as is your caſe. You

have now escaped. But take care. I shall have a strict eye upon you; and if ever you make the least attempt to return to your traiterous practices, you know I can be avenged of you.' He spoke this with the fierceness of a lion, and from the awful darkness of his brow, one could see that his thoughts of vengeance were terrible. Yet when it was over, he all at once resumed his usual appearance, called out, 'andiamo, 'come along;' went to dinner, and was as chearful and gay as if nothing had happened.

His notions of morality are high and refined, such as become the Father of a nation. Were he a libertine, his influence would soon vanish; for men will never trust the important concerns of society to one they know will do what is hurtful to society for his own pleasures. He told me that his father had brought him up with great strictness, and that he had very seldom deviated from the paths of virtue. That this was not from a defect of feeling and passion, but that his mind being filled with important objects, his passions were employed in more noble pursuits than those of licentious pleasure. I saw from Paoli's example the great art of preserving young men of spirit from the

corruption of vice in which there is often a ſpecies of ſentiment, ingenuity and extenuation nearly allied to virtuous qualities.

Shew a young man that there is more real ſpirit in virtue than in vice, and you have a ſurer hold of him, during his years of impetuoſity and paſſion, than by convincing his judgment of all the rectitude of ethicks.

One day at dinner, he gave us the principal arguments for the being and attributes of GOD. To hear theſe arguments repeated with graceful energy by the illuſtrious Paoli in the midſt of his heroick nobles, was admirable. I never felt my mind more elevated.

I took occaſion to mention the king of Pruſſia's infidel writings, and in particular his epiſtle to Mariſchal Keith. Paoli who often talks with admiration of the greatneſs of that monarch, inſtead of uttering any direct cenſure of what he ſaw to be wrong in ſo diſtinguiſhed a hero, pauſed a little, and then ſaid with a grave and moſt expreſſive look, 'C'eſt une belle conſolation pour 'un vieux general mourant, "En peu de "tems vous ne ſerez plus." It is fine conſolation for an old general when dying, "In a little while you ſhall be no more."

He observed that the Epicurean philosophy had produced but one great character, whereas Stoicism had been the seminary of great men. What he now said put me in mind of these noble lines of Lucan,

Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum finemque tenere,
Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere vitam,
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
LUCAN. Pharsal. lib. ii. l. 380.

These were the stricter manners of the man,
And this the stubborn course in which they ran;
The golden mean unchanging to pursue,
Constant to keep the purpos'd end in view,
Religiously to follow nature's laws,
And die with pleasure in his country's cause.
To think he was not for himself design'd,
But born to be of use to all mankind.
ROWE.

When he was asked if he would quit the island of which he had undertaken the protection, supposing a foreign power should create him a Marischal, and make him governour of a province; he replied, 'I hope they will believe I am more honest, than ambitious; for, said he, to accept of the highest offices under a foreign power, would be to serve.'

To have been a colonel, a general or a ma-

rischal, said he, 'I would have been sufficient for my table, for my taste in dress, for the beauty whom my rank would have entitled me to attend. But it would not have been sufficient for this spirit, for this imagination.' Putting his hand upon his bosom.

He reasoned one day in the midst of his nobles whether the commander of a nation should be married or not. 'If he is married, said he, there is a risk that he may be distracted by private affairs, and swayed too much by a concern for his family. If he is unmarried, there is a risk that not having the tender attachments of a wife and children, he may sacrifice all to his own ambition.' When I said he ought to marry and have a son to succeed him, 'Sir, said he, what security can I have that my son will think and act as I do? What sort of a son had Cicero, and what had Marcus Aurelius?'

He said to me one day when we were alone, 'I never will marry. I have not the conjugal virtues. Nothing would tempt me to marry, but a woman who should bring me an immense dowry, with which I might assist my country.'

But he spoke much in praise of marriage,

as an institution which the experience of ages had found to be the beſt calculated for the happineſs of individuals, and for the good of ſociety. Had he been a private gentleman, he probably would have married, and I am ſure would have made as good a huſband and father as he does a ſupreme magiſtrate and a general. But his arduous and critical ſituation would not allow him to enjoy domeſtick felicity. He is wedded to his country, and the Corſicans are his children.

He often talked to me of marriage, told me licentious pleaſures were deluſive and tranſient, that I ſhould never be truly happy till I was married, and that he hoped to have a letter from me ſoon after my return home, acquainting him that I had followed his advice, and was convinced from experience, that he was in the right. With ſuch an engaging condeſcenſion did this great man behave to me. If I could but paint his manner, all my readers would be charmed with him.

He has a mind fitted for philoſophical ſpeculations as well as for affairs of ſtate. One evening at ſupper, he entertained us for ſome time with ſome curious reveries and conjectures as to the nature of the in-

telligence of beasts, with regard to which, he observed human knowledge was as yet very imperfect. He in particular seemed fond of inquiring into the language of the brute creation. He observed that beasts fully communicate their ideas to each other, and that some of them, such as dogs, can form several articulate sounds. In different ages there have been people who pretended to understand the language of birds and beasts. 'Perhaps, said Paoli, in a thousand years we may know this as well as we know things which appeared much more difficult to be known.' I have often since this conversation, indulged myself in such reveries. If it were not liable to ridicule, I would say that an acquaintance with the language of beasts would be a most agreeable acquisition to man, as it would enlarge the circle of his social intercourse.

On my return to Britain I was disappointed to find nothing upon this subject in Doctour Gregory's Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World, which was then just published. My disappointment however was in a good measure made up by a picture of society, drawn by that ingenious and worthy authour, which may be well applied to the

Corficans. 'There is a certain period in the progress of society in which mankind appear to the greatest advantage. In this period, they have the bodily powers, and all the animal functions remaining in full vigour. They are bold, active, ready, ardent in the love of liberty and their native country. Their manners are simple, their social affections warm, and though they are greatly influenced by the ties of blood, yet they are generous and hospitable to strangers. Religion is universally regarded among them, though disguised by a variety of superstitions (*a*).'

Paoli was very desirous that I should study the character of the Corficans. 'Go among them, said he, the more you talk with them, you will do me the greater pleasure. Forget the meanness of their apparel. Hear their sentiments. You will find honour, and sense and abilities among these poor men.'

His heart grew big when he spoke of his countrymen. His own great qualities appeared to unusual advantage, while he described the virtues of those for whose happiness his whole life was employed. If,

(*a*) Preface to Comparative View, p. 3.

ſaid he, I ſhould lead into the field an army of Corſicans againſt an army double their number, let me ſpeak a few words to the Corſicans, to remind them of the honour of their country and of their brave forefathers. I do not ſay that they would conquer, but I am ſure that not a man of them would give way. The Corſicans, ſaid he, have a ſteady reſolution that would amaze you. I wiſh you could ſee one of them die. It is a proverb among the Genoeſe, "I Corſi meritano la furca e la ſanno ſoffrire. The Corſicans deſerve the gallows, and they fear not to meet it." There is a real compliment to us in this ſaying.'

He told me, that in Corſica, criminals are put to death four and twenty hours after ſentence is pronounced againſt them. This, ſaid he, may not be over catholick, but it is humane.

He went on, and gave me ſeveral inſtances of the Corſican ſpirit.

'A ſergeant, ſaid he, who fell in one of our deſperate actions, when juſt a dying, wrote to me thus. 'I ſalute you. Take care of my aged father. In two hours I ſhall be with the reſt who have bravely died for their country.'

A Genoese gentleman who had been taken prisoner by the Genoese, was thrown into a dark dungeon, where he was chained to the ground. While he was in this dismal situation, the Genoese sent a message to him, that if he would accept of a commission in their service, he might have it. 'No, said 'he. Were I to accept of your offer, it 'would be with a determined purpose to 'take the first opportunity of returning to 'the service of my country. But I will not 'accept of it. For I would not have my 'countrymen even suspect that I could be 'one moment unfaithful.' And he remained in his dungeon. Paoli went on, 'I defy Rome, Sparta or Thebes to shew me thirty years of such patriotism as Corsica can boast. Though the affection between relations is exceedingly strong in the Corsicans, they will give up their nearest relations for the good of their country, and sacrifice such as have deserted to the Genoese.'

He gave me a noble instance of a Corsican's feeling and greatness of mind. 'A criminal, said he, was condemned to die. His nephew came to me with a lady of distinction, that she might solicit his pardon.

The nephew's anxiety made him think that the lady did not speak with sufficient force and earnestness. He therefore advanced, and addressed himself to me. 'Sir, is it proper for me to speak?' as if he felt that it was unlawful to make such an application. I bid him go on. 'Sir, said he, with the deepest concern, may I beg the life of my uncle? If it is granted, his relations will make a gift to the state of a thousand zechins. We will furnish fifty soldiers in pay during the siege of Furiani. We will agree that my uncle shall be banished, and will engage that he shall never return to the island.' I knew the nephew to be a man of worth, and I answered him: You are acquainted with the circumstances of this case. Such is my confidence in you, that if you will say that giving your uncle a pardon would be just, useful or honourable for Corsica, I promise you it shall be granted. He turned about, burst into tears, and left me, saying, 'Non vorrei vendere l'onore della patria per mille zechini. I would not have the honour of our country sold for a thousand zechins.' And his uncle suffered.'

Although the General was one of the

same time the old man seemed full of grief for the loss of his children, that it touched my heart in the most sensible manner. Paoli looked at me with complacency and a kind of amiable triumph on the behaviour of the old man, who had a flow of words and a vivacity of gesture which fully justified what Petrus Cyrnæus hath said of the Corsican eloquence; 'Diceres omnes esse bonos causidicos. You would say they are all good 'pleaders.'

I found Paoli had reason to wish that I should talk much with his countrymen, as it gave me a higher opinion both of him and of them. Thuanus has justly said, 'Sunt mobilia Corsorum ingenia. The dispositions of the Corsicans are changeable.' Yet after ten years, their attachment to Paoli is as strong as at the first. Nay, they have an enthusiastick admiration of him. 'Questo grand' uomo mandato per Dio a 'liberare la patria. This great man whom 'God hath sent to free our country,' was the manner in which they expressed themselves to me concerning him.

Those who attended on Paoli were all men of sense and abilities in their different departments. Some of them had been in

foreign service. One of them, Signor Suzzoni, had been long in Germany. He spoke German to me, and recalled to my mind the happy days which I have past among that plain, honest, brave people, who of all nations in the world receive strangers with the greatest cordiality. Signor Gian Quilico Casa Bianca, of the most ancient Corsican nobility, was much my friend. He instructed me fully with regard to the Corsican government. He had even the patience to sit by me while I wrote down an account of it, which from conversations with Paoli, I afterwards enlarged and improved. I received many civilities from the Abbé Rostini, a man of literature, and distinguished no less for the excellency of his heart. His saying of Paoli deserves to be remembered. 'Nous ne craignons pas que 'notre General nous trompe ni qu'il se laisse 'tromper. We are not afraid that our Ge- 'neral will deceive us, nor that he will let 'himself be deceived.'

I also received civilities from Father Guelfucci of the order of Servites, a man whose talents and virtues, united with a singular decency and sweetness of manners, have raised him to the honourable station of se-

cretary to the General. Indeed all the gentlemen here behaved to me in the most obliging manner. We walked, rode, and went a shooting together.

The peasants and soldiers were all frank, open, lively and bold, with a certain roughness of manner which agrees well with their character, and is far from being displeasing. The General gave me an admirable instance of their plain and natural, solid good sense. A young French Marquis, very rich and very vain, came over to Corsica. He had a sovereign contempt for the barbarous inhabitants, and strutted about (andava a passo misurato) with prodigious airs of consequence. The Corsicans beheld him with a smile of ridicule, and said, 'Let him alone; 'he is young.'

The Corsican peasants and soldiers are very fond of baiting cattle with the large mountain dogs. This keeps up a ferocity among them which totally extinguishes fear. I have seen a Corsican in the very heat of a baiting, run in, drive off the dogs, seize the half-frantick animal by the horns, and lead it away. The common people did not seem much given to diversions. I observed some of them in the great hall of the house of

Cologna where I was lodged, amusing themselves with playing at a sort of draughts in a very curious manner. They drew upon the floor with chalk, a sufficient number of squares, chalking one all over, and leaving one open, alternately; and instead of black men and white, they had bits of stone and bits of wood. It was an admirable burlesque on gaming.

The chief satisfaction of these islanders when not engaged in war or in hunting, seemed to be that of lying at their ease in the open air, recounting tales of the bravery of their countrymen, and singing songs in honour of the Corsicans, and against the Genoese. Even in the night they will continue this pastime in the open air, unless rain forces them to retire into their houses.

The ambasciadore Inglese, The English ambassadour, as the good peasants and soldiers used to call me, became a great favourite among them. I got a Corsican dress made, in which I walked about with an air of true satisfaction. The General did me the honour to present me with his own pistols, made in the island, all of Corsican wood and iron, and of excellent workmanship. I had every other accoutrement. I even got one of

the ſhells which had often ſounded the alarm to liberty. I preſerve them all with great care.

The Corſican peaſants and ſoldiers were quite free and eaſy with me. Numbers of them uſed to come and ſee me of a morning, and juſt go out and in as they pleaſed. I did every thing in my power to make them fond of the Britiſh, and bid them hope for an alliance with us. They aſked me a thouſand queſtions about my country, all which I chearfully anſwered as well as I could.

One day they would needs hear me play upon my German flute. To have told my honeſt natural viſitants, Really gentlemen I play very ill, and put on ſuch airs as we do in our genteel companies, would have been highly ridiculous. I therefore immediately complied with their requeſt. I gave them one or two Italian airs, and then ſome of our beautiful old Scots tunes, Gilderoy, the Laſs of Patie's Mill, Corn rigge are Bonny. The pathetick ſimplicity and paſtoral gaiety of the Scots muſick, will always pleaſe thoſe who have the genuine feelings of nature. The Corſicans were charmed with the ſpecimens I gave them, though I may now ſay that they were very indifferently performed.

My good friends inſiſted alſo to have an Engliſh ſong from me. I endeavoured to pleaſe them in this too, and was very lucky in that which occurred to me. I ſung them 'Hearts of oak are our ſhips, Hearts of oak 'are our men.' I tranſlated it into Italian for them, and never did I ſee men ſo delighted with a ſong as the Corſicans were with Hearts of oak. 'Cuore di querco, 'cried they, bravo Ingleſe.' It was quite a joyous riot. I fancied myſelf to be a recruiting ſea-officer. I fancied all my chorus of Corſicans aboard the Britiſh fleet.

Paoli talked very highly on preſerving the independency of Corſica. 'We may, ſaid he, have foreign powers for our friends; but they muſt be 'Amici fuori di caſa. Friends at arm's length.' 'We may make an alliance, but we will not ſubmit ourſelves to the dominion of the greateſt nation in Europe. This people who have done ſo much for liberty, would be hewn in pieces man by man, rather than allow Corſica to be ſunk into the territories of another country. Some years ago, when a falſe rumour was ſpread that I had a deſign to yield up Corſica to the Emperour, a Corſican came to me, and addreſſed me in great

agitation. 'What! ſhall the blood of ſo 'many heroes, who have ſacrificed their 'lives for the freedom of Corſica, ſerve only 'to tinge the purple of a foreign prince?'

I mentioned to him the ſcheme of an alliance between Great Britain and Corſica. Paoli with politeneſs and dignity waved the ſubject, by ſaying, 'The leſs aſſiſtance we 'have from allies, the greater our glory.' He ſeemed hurt by our treatment of his country. He mentioned the ſevere proclamation at the laſt peace, in which the brave iſlanders were called the Rebels of Corſica. He ſaid with a conſcious pride and proper feeling, 'Rebels! I did not expect that from Great Britain.'

He however ſhewed his great reſpect for the Britiſh nation, and I could ſee he wiſhed much to be in friendſhip with us. When I aſked him what I could poſſibly do in return for all his goodneſs to me. He replied, 'Solamente diſingannate il ſuo corte. Only undeceive your court. Tell them what you have ſeen here. They will be curious to aſk you. A man come from Corſica will be like a man come from the Antipodes.'

I expreſſed ſuch hopes as a man of ſenſibility would in my ſituation naturally form. He

saw at least one Briton devoted to his cause. I threw out many flattering ideas of future political events, imaged the British and the Corsicans strictly united both in commerce and in war, and described the blunt kindness and admiration with which the hearty, generous common people of England would treat the brave Corsicans.

I insensibly got the better of his reserve upon this head. My flow of gay ideas relaxed his severity, and brightened up his humour. Do you remember, said he, the little people in Asia who were in danger of being oppressed by the great king of Assyria, till they addressed themselves to the Romans. And the Romans, with the noble spirit of a great and free nation, stood forth, and would not suffer the great king to destroy the little people, but made an alliance with them?

He made no observations upon this beautiful piece of history. It was easy to see his allusion to his own nation and ours.

When the General related this piece of history to me, I was negligent enough not to ask him what little people he meant. As the story made a strong impression upon me, upon my return to Britain I searched a

variety of books to try if I could find it, but in vain. I therefore took the liberty in one of my letters to Paoli, to beg he would let me know it. He told me the little people was the Jews, that the ſtory was related by ſeveral ancient authours, but that I would find it told with moſt preciſion and energy in the eighth chapter of the firſt book of the Maccabees.

The firſt book of the Maccabees, though not received into the Proteſtant canon, is allowed by all the learned to be an authentick hiſtory. I have read Paoli's favourite ſtory with much ſatisfaction, and, as in ſeveral circumſtances, it very well applies to Great Britain and Corſica, is told with great eloquence, and furniſhes a fine model for an alliance, I ſhall make no apology for tranſcribing the moſt intereſting verſes.

'Now Judas had heard of the fame 'of the Romans, that they were mighty 'and valiant men, and ſuch as would 'lovingly accept all that joined themſelves unto them, and make a league 'of amity with all that came unto 'them.

'And that they were men of great valour. 'It was told him alſo of their wars and noble

'acts which they had done amongſt the Ga-
'latians, and how they had conquered
'them, and brought them under tribute.

'And what they had done in the country
'of Spain, for the winning of the mines of
'the ſilver and gold which are there.

'And that by their policy and patience
'they had conquered all the place, though
'it were very far from them.

'It was told him beſides, how they de-
'ſtroyed and brought under their dominion,
'all other kingdoms and iſles that at any
'time reſiſted them.

'But with their friends, and ſuch as re-
'lied upon them, they kept amity: and
'that they had conquered kingdoms both
'far and near, inſomuch as all that heard
'of their name were afraid of them:

'Alſo, that whom they would help to a
'kingdom, thoſe reign; and whom again
'they would, they diſplace: finally, that
'they were greatly exalted:

'Moreover, how they had made for
'themſelves a ſenate-houſe, wherein three
'hundred and twenty men ſat in council
'dayly, conſulting alway for the people,
'to the end that they might be well or-
'dered.

'In consideration of these things Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John the son Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them,

'And to intreat them that they would take the yoke from them, for they saw that the kingdom of the Grecians did oppress Israel with servitude.

'They went therefore to Rome, which was a very great journey, and came into the senate, where they spake, and said,

'Judas Maccabeus, with his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

'So that matter pleased the Romans well.

'And this is the copy of the epistle which the senate wrote back again, in tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that there they might have by them a memorial of peace and confederacy.

'Good success be to the Romans, and to the people of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever. The sword also, and enemy be far from them.

'If there come first any war upon the Romans, or any of their confederates, throughout all their dominions,

'The people of the Jews shall help them, 'as the time shall be appointed, with all their heart.

'Neither shall they give any thing unto 'them that make war upon them, or aid 'them with victuals, weapons, money or 'ships, as it hath seemed good unto the 'Romans, but they shall keep their cove-'nant, without taking any thing there-'fore.

'In the same manner also, if war come 'first upon the nation of the Jews, the Ro-'mans shall help them with all their heart, 'according as the time shall be appointed 'them.

'Neither shall victuals be given to them 'that take part against them, or weapons, 'or money, or ships, as it hath seemed good 'to the Romans; but they shall keep their 'covenants, and that without deceit.

'According to these articles did the Ro-'mans make a covenant with the people of 'the Jews.

'Howbeit, if hereafter the one party or the other, shall think meet to add or di-

within any thing they may do in their pleasures, and whatsoever they shall add or take away, shall be ratified.

'And, as touching the evils that Demetrius doth to the Jews, we have written unto him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates, the Jews?

'If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.'

I will venture to ask whether the Romans appear, in any one instance of their history, more truly great than they do here.

Paoli said, 'If a man would preserve the generous glow of patriotism, he must not reason too much. Mareschal Saxe reasoned, and carried the arms of France into the heart of Germany, his own country. I act from sentiment, not from reasonings.'

Virtuous sentiments and habits, said he, are beyond philosophical reasonings, which are not so strong, and are continually varying. If all the professours in Europe were formed into one society, it would no doubt be a society very respectable, and we should there be entertained with the

best moral lessons. Yet I believe I should find in the real virtues in a society of good peasants in some little village in the heart of your island. It might be said of these two societies, as was said of Demosthenes and Themistocles, 'Illius dicta, hujus facta magis valebant. The one was powerful in words, but the other in deeds.'

This kind of conversation led me to tell him how much I had suffered from anxious speculations. With a mind naturally inclined to melancholy, and a keen desire of inquiry, I had intensely applied myself to metaphysical researches, and reasoned beyond my depth, on such subjects as it is not given to man to know. I told him I had rendered my mind a camera obscura, that in the very heat of youth I felt the 'non est tanti,' the 'omnia vanitas' of one who has exhausted all the sweets of his being, and is weary with dull repetition. I told him that I had almost become for ever incapable of taking a part in active life.

'All this, said Paoli, is melancholy. I have also studied metaphysicks. I know the arguments for fate and free-will, for the materiality and immateriality of the soul, and even the subtile arguments for and against

the exiſtence of matter. 'Ma laſciamo queſte diſpute ai oziosi. But let us leave theſe diſputes to the idle. Io tengo ſempre fermo un gran penſiero. I hold always firm one great object. I never feel a moment of deſpondency.'

The contemplation of ſuch a character really exiſting, was of more ſervice to me than all I had been able to draw from books, from converſation, or from the exertions of my own mind. I had often formed the idea of a man continually ſuch, as I could conceive in my beſt moments. But this idea appeared like the ideas we are taught in the ſchools to form of things which may exiſt, but do not; of ſeas of milk, and ſhips of amber. But I ſaw my higheſt idea realiſed in Paoli. It was impoſſible for me, ſpeculate as I pleaſed, to have a mean opinion of human nature in him.

One morning I remember, I came in upon him without ceremony, while he was dreſſing. I was glad to have an opportunity of ſeeing him in thoſe teaſing moments, when according to the Duke de Rochefoucault, no man is a hero to his valet de chambre. The lively nobleman who has a malicious pleaſure in endeavouring to diveſt human

nature of its dignity, by exhibiting partial views, and exaggerating faults, would have owned that Paoli was every moment of his life a hero.

Paoli told me that from his earliest years, he had in view the important ſtation which he now holds; ſo that his ſentiments muſt ever have been great. I aſked him how one of ſuch elevated thoughts could ſubmit with any degree of patience, to the unmeaning ceremonies and poor diſcourſe of genteel ſociety, which he certainly was obliged to do while an officer at Naples. 'O, ſaid he, I managed it very eaſily. Ero conoſciuto per una teſta ſingolare, I was known to be a ſingular man. I talked and joked, and was merry; but I never ſat down to play; I went and came as I pleaſed. The mirth I like is what is eaſy and unaffected. Je ne puis ſouffrir long temps les diſeurs de bons mots. I cannot endure long the ſayers of good things.'

How much ſuperiour is this great man's idea of agreeable converſation to that of profeſſed wits, who are continually ſtraining for ſmart remarks, and lively repartees. They put themſelves to much pain in order to pleaſe, and yet pleaſe leſs than if they

would juſt appear as they naturally feel themſelves. A company of profeſſed wits has always appeared to me, like a company of artificers employed in ſome very nice and difficult work, which they are under a neceſſity of performing.

Though calm and fully maſter of himſelf, Paoli is animated with an extraordinary degree of vivacity. Except when indiſpoſed or greatly fatigued, he never ſits down but at meals. He is perpetually in motion, walking briſkly backwards and forwards. Mr. Samuel Johnſon, whoſe comprehenſive and vigorous underſtanding, has by long obſervation, attained to a perfect knowledge of human nature, when treating of biography, has this reflection. 'There are many 'inviſible circumſtances which, whether we 'read as enquiries after natural or moral 'knowledge; whether we intend to enlarge 'our ſcience, or increaſe our virtue, are 'more important than publick occurrences. 'Thus Salluſt, the great maſter of nature, 'has not forgotten in his account of Catiline, 'to remark, that "his walk was now quick, 'and again ſlow," as an indication of a mind 'revolving ſomething with violent commotion (a).' Ever mindful of the wiſdom of

(a) Rambler, Number 60.

the Rambler, I have accuſtomed myſelf to mark the ſmall peculiarities of character. Paoli's being perpetually in motion, nay his being ſo agitated that, as the ſame Salluſt alſo ſays of Catiline, 'Neque vigiliis, neque quietibus ſedari poterat. He could not be quieted either by watching or by repoſe,' are indications of his being as active and indefatigable as Catiline, but from a very different cauſe. The conſpiratour from ſchemes of ruin and deſtruction to Rome; the patriot from ſchemes of liberty and felicity to Corſica.

Paoli told me that the vivacity of his mind was ſuch, that he could not ſtudy above ten minutes at a time. 'La teſta mi rompa. My head is like to break,' ſaid he. 'I can never write my lively ideas with my own hand. In writing, they eſcape from my mind. I call the Abbé Guelfucci, Allons preſto, pigliate li penſieri. Come quickly, take my thoughts; and he writes them.'

Paoli has a memory like that of Themiſtocles; for I was aſſured that he knows the names of almoſt all the people in the iſland, their characters, and their connections. His

on the word of an honeſt man, it is impoſſible for me not to be perſuaded, that God interpoſes to give freedom to Corſica: a people oppreſſed like the Corſicans, are certainly worthy of divine aſſiſtance. When we were in the moſt deſperate circumſtances, I never loſt courage, truſting as I did in Providence.' I ventured to object, But why has not Providence interpoſed ſooner? He replied with a noble, ſerious, and devout air, 'Becauſe his ways are unſearchable. I adore him for what he hath done. I revere him in what he hath not done.'

I gave Paoli the character of my reverend friend Mr. Samuel Johnſon. I have often regretted that illuſtrious men, ſuch as humanity produces a few times in the revolution of many ages, ſhould not ſee each other; and when ſuch ariſe in the ſame age, though at the diſtance of half the globe, I have been aſtoniſhed how they could forbear to meet. 'As ſteel ſharpneth ſteel, ſo doth a man the countenance of his friend,' ſays the wiſe monarch. What an idea may we not form of an interview between ſuch a ſcholar and philoſopher as Mr. Johnſon, and ſuch a legiſlator and general as Paoli!

I repeated to Paoli several of Mr. Johnſon's ſayings, ſo remarkable for ſtrong ſenſe and original humour. I now recollect theſe two.

When I told Mr. Johnſon that a certain author affected in converſation to maintain, that there was no diſtinction between virtue and vice, he ſaid, 'Why Sir, if the fellow 'does not think as he ſpeaks, he is lying; 'and I ſee not what honour he can propoſe 'to himſelf from having the character of a 'liar. But if he does really think that 'there is no diſtinction between virtue and 'vice, why Sir, when he leaves our houſes 'let us count our ſpoons.'

Of modern infidels and innovatours, he ſaid, 'Sir, theſe are all vain men, and will 'gratify themſelves at any expence. Truth 'will not afford ſufficient food to their va-'nity; ſo they have betaken themſelves to 'errour. Truth, Sir, is a cow which will 'yield ſuch people no more milk, and ſo 'they are gone to milk the bull.'

I felt an elation of mind to ſee Paoli delighted with the ſayings of Mr. Johnſon, and to hear him tranſlate them with Italian energy to the Corſican heroes.

I repeated Mr. Johnſon's ſayings as nearly

as I could, in his own peculiar forcible language, for which, prejudiced or little critics have taken upon them to find fault with him. He is above making any answer to them, but I have found a sufficient answer in a general remark in one of his excellent papers. 'Difference of thoughts will produce difference of language. He that thinks with more extent than another, will want words of larger meaning.' (a)

I hope to be pardoned for this digreſſion, wherein I pay a juſt tribute of veneration and gratitude to one from whoſe writings and converſation I have received inſtructions of which I experience the value in every ſcene of my life.

During Paoli's adminiſtration, there have been few laws made in Corſica. He mentioned one which he has found very efficacious in curbing that vindictive ſpirit of the Corſicans, of which I have ſaid a good deal, in a former part of this work. There was among the Corſicans a moſt dreadful ſpecies of revenge, called 'Vendetta traſverſa, Collateral revenge,' which Petrus Cyrnæus candidly acknowledges. It was this. If a man had received an injury, and could not

(a) Idler, number 70.

find a proper opportunity to be revenged on his enemy personally, he revenged himself on one of his enemy's relations. So barbarous a practice, was the source of innumerable assassinations. Paoli knowing that the point of honour was every thing to the Corsicans, opposed it to the progress of the blackest of crimes, fortified by long habits. He made a law, by which it was provided, that this collateral revenge should not only be punished with death, as ordinary murther, but the memory of the offender should be disgraced for ever by a pillar of infamy. He also had it enacted that the same statute should extend to the violatours of an oath of reconciliation, once made.

By thus combating a vice so destructive, he has, by a kind of shock of opposite passions, reduced the fiery Corsicans to a state of mildness, and he assured me that they were now all fully sensible of the equity of that law.

While I was at Sollacaro, information was received, that the poor wretch who strangled the woman at the instigation of his mistress, had consented to accept of his life, upon condition of becoming hangman. This made a great noise among the Corsicans,

who were enraged at the creature, and ſaid their nation was now diſgraced. Paoli did not think ſo. He ſaid to me 'I am glad of this. It will be of ſervice. It will contribute to form us to a juſt ſubordination. We have as yet too great an equality among us. As we muſt have Corſican taylours and Corſican ſhoemakers, we muſt alſo have a Corſican hangman.'

I could not help being of a different opinion. The occupations of a taylour and a ſhoemaker, though mean, are not odious. When I afterwards met M. Rouſſeau in England, and made him a report of my Corſican expedition, he agreed with me in thinking that it would be ſomething noble for the brave iſlanders, to be able to ſay that there was not a Corſican but who would rather ſuffer death, than become a hangman; and he alſo agreed with me, that it might have a good effect to have always a Genoeſe for the hangman of Corſica.

I muſt however do the Genoeſe the juſtice to obſerve, that Paoli told me, that even one of them had ſuffered death in Corſica, rather than conſent to become hangman. When I, with a keenneſs natural enough in a Briton born with an abhorrence at tyranny, talked

with violence againſt the Genoeſe, Paoli ſaid with a moderation and candour which ought to do him honour even with the republick, 'It is true the Genoeſe are our enemies; but let us not forget, that they are the deſcendants of thoſe worthies, who carried their arms beyond the Helleſpont.

There is one circumſtance in Paoli's character which I preſent to my readers with caution, knowing how much it may be ridiculed, in an age when mankind are ſo fond of incredulity, that they ſeem to pique themſelves in contracting their circle of belief as much as poſſible. But I conſider this infidel rage as but a temporary mode of the human underſtanding, and am well perſuaded that e'er long we ſhall return to a more calm philoſophy.

I own I cannot help thinking that though we may boaſt ſome improvements in ſcience, and in ſhort, ſuperiour degrees of knowledge in things where our faculties can fully reach, yet we ſhould not aſſume to ourſelves ſounder judgements than thoſe of our fathers. I will therefore venture to relate that Paoli has at times extraordinary impreſſions of diſtant and future events.

The way in which I diſcovered it, was

this. Being very desirous of studying so exalted a character, I so far presumed upon his goodness to me, as to take the liberty of asking him a thousand questions with regard to the most minute and private circumstances of his life. Having asked him one day when some of his nobles were present, whether a mind so active as his was not employed even in sleep, and if he used to dream much. Signor Casa Bianca said with an air and tone which implied something of importance, 'Sì, si sogna. Yes, he dreams.' And upon my asking him to explain his meaning, he told me that the General had often seen in his dreams, what afterwards came to pass. Paoli confirmed this by several instances. Said he, 'I can give you no clear explanation of it. I only tell you facts. Sometimes I have been mistaken, but in general, these visions have proved true. I cannot say what may be the agency of invisible spirits. They certainly must know more than we do; and there is nothing absurd in supposing that God should permit them to communicate their knowledge to us.'

He went into a most curious and pleasing disquisition on a subject, which the late

ingenious Mr. Baxter has treated in a very philosophical manner, in his Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul; a book which may be read with as much delight, and surely with more advantage than the works of those who endeavour to destroy our belief. Belief is favourable to the human mind, were it for nothing else but to furnish it entertainment. An infidel I should think, must frequently suffer from ennui.

It was perhaps affectation in Socrates to say, that all he had learned to know was that he knew nothing. But surely it is a mark of wisdom, to be sensible of the limited extent of human knowledge, to examine with reverence the ways of GOD, nor presumptuously reject any opinion which has been held by the judicious and the learned, because it has been made a cloak for artifice, or had a variety of fictions raised upon it, by credulity.

Old Feltham says, 'Every dream is not 'to be counted of; nor yet are all to be cast 'away with contempt. I would neither be 'a stoick, superstitious in all; nor yet an 'epicure, considerate of none (*a*).' And after observing how much the ancients at-

(*a*) Feltham's Resolves, Cent. I. Resol. 15.

tended to the interpretation of dreams, he adds, 'Were it not for the power of the gospel, in crying down the vains (*a*) of men, it would appear a wonder how a science so pleasing to humanity, should fall so quite to ruin (*b*).'

The mysterious circumstance in Paoli's character which I have ventured to relate, is universally believed in Corsica. The inhabitants of that island, like the Italians, express themselves much by signs. When I asked one of them, if there had been many instances of the General's foreseeing future events, he grasped a large bunch of his hair, and replied, 'Tante, Signore, So many Sir.'

It may be said that the General has industriously propagated this opinion, in order that he might have more authority in civilizing a rude and ferocious people; as Lycurgus pretended to have the sanction of the oracle of Delphos; as Numa gave it out that he had frequent interviews with the nymph Egeria; or as Marius persuaded the Romans, that he received divine communications from a hind. But I cannot allow myself to suppose that Paoli ever required the aid of pious frauds.

(*a*) He means vanity. (*b*) Feltham's Resolves, Cent. I. Resol. 52.

Paoli though never familiar, has the most perfect eaſe of behaviour. This is a mark of a real great character. The diſtance and reſerve which ſome of our modern nobility affect, is, becauſe nobility is now little elſe than a name in compariſon of what it was in ancient times. In ancient times, noblemen lived at their country ſeats, like princes, in hoſpitable grandeur. They were men of power, and every one of them could bring hundreds of followers into the field. They were then open and affable. Some of our modern nobility are ſo anxious to preſerve an appearance of dignity which they are ſenſible cannot bear an examination, that they are afraid to let you come near them. Paoli is not ſo. Thoſe about him come into his apartment at all hours, wake him, help him on with his clothes, are perfectly free from reſtraint; yet they know their diſtance, and awed by his real greatneſs, never loſe their reſpect for him.

Though thus eaſy of acceſs, particular care is taken againſt ſuch attempts upon the life of the illuſtrious Chief, as he has good reaſon to apprehend from the Genoeſe, who have ſo often employed aſſaſſination merely in a political view, and who would gain ſo

much by aſſaſſinating Paoli. A certain number of ſoldiers are continually on guard upon him, and as ſtill cloſer guards, he has ſome faithful Corſican dogs. Of theſe five or ſix ſleep, ſome in his chamber, and ſome at the outſide of the chamber-door. He treats them with great kindneſs, and they are ſtrongly attached to him. They are extremely ſagacious, and know all his friends and attendants. Were any perſon to approach the General during the darkneſs of the night, they would inſtantly tear him in pieces.

Having dogs for his attendants, is another circumſtance about Paoli ſimilar to the heroes of antiquity. Homer repreſents Telemachus ſo attended.

Δύω κύνες ἄρχοι ἕποντο.

HOMER, Odyſſ. lib. ii. l. 11.

Two dogs a faithful guard attend behind.

POPE.

But the deſcription given of the family of Patroclus applies better to Paoli.

Ἐννέα τῷ γε ἄνακτι τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν.

HOMER. Iliad lib. xxiii. l. 173.

nine large dogs domeſtick at his board.

POPE.

Mr. Pope in his notes on the ſecond book of the Odyſſey, is much pleaſed with dogs

being introduced, as it furniſhes an agreeable inſtance of ancient ſimplicity. He obſerves that Virgil thought this circumſtance worthy of his imitation, in deſcribing old Evander. So we read of Syphax general of the Numidians, 'Syphax inter duos canes ſtans, Scipionem appellavit (*a*). Syphax ſtanding between two dogs called to Scipio.'

Talking of courage, he made a very juſt diſtinction between conſtitutional courage and courage from reflection. 'Sir Thomas More, ſaid he, would not probably have mounted a breach ſo well as a ſergeant who had never thought of death. But a ſergeant would not on a ſcaffold, have ſhewn the calm reſolution of Sir Thomas More.'

On this ſubject he told me a very remarkable anecdote, which happened during the laſt war in Italy. At the ſiege of Tortona, the commander of the army which lay before the town, ordered Carew an Iriſh officer in the ſervice of Naples, to advance with a detachment to a particular poſt. Having given his orders, he whiſpered to

(*a*) I mention this on the authority of an excellent ſcholar, and one of our beſt writers, Mr. Joſeph Warton in his notes on the Aeneid; for I have not been able to find the paſſage in Livy which he quotes.

Carew. 'Sir, I know you to be a gallant 'man. I have therefore put you upon this 'duty. I tell you in confidence, it is cer- 'tain death for you all. I place you there 'to make the enemy ſpring a mine below 'you.' Carew made a bow to the general, and led on his men in ſilence to the dread- ful poſt. He there ſtood with an undaunt- ed countenance, and having called to one of the ſoldiers for a draught of wine, 'Here, 'ſaid he, I drink to all thoſe who bravely 'fall in battle.' Fortunately at that inſtant Tortona capitulated, and Carew eſcaped. But he had thus a full opportunity of diſ- playing a rare inſtance of determined intre- pidity. It is with pleaſure that I record an anecdote ſo much to the honour of a gen- tleman of that nation, on which illiberal re- flections are too often thrown, by thoſe of whom it little deſerves them. Whatever may be the rough jokes of wealthy inſo- lence, or the envious ſarcaſms of needy jea- louſy, the Iriſh have ever been, and will continue to be, highly regarded upon the continent.

Paoli's perſonal authority among the Cor- ſicans ſtruck me much. I have ſeen a crowd

of them with eagerneſs and impetuoſity, endeavouring to approach him, as if they would have burſt into his apartment by force. In vain did the guards attempt to reſtrain them; but when he called to them in a tone of firmneſs, 'Non c'è ora ricorſo, No audience now,' they were huſhed at once.

He one afternoon gave us an entertaining diſſertation on the ancient art of war. He obſerved that the ancients allowed of little baggage, which they very properly called 'impedimenta;' whereas the moderns burthen themſelves with it to ſuch a degree, that 50,000 of our preſent ſoldiers are allowed as much baggage as was formerly thought ſufficient for all the armies of the Roman empire. He ſaid it was good for ſoldiers to be heavy armed, as it renders them proportionably robuſt; and he remarked that when the Romans lightened their arms, the troops became enfeebled. He made a very curious obſervation with regard to the towers full of armed men, which we are told were borne on the backs of their elephants. He ſaid it muſt be a miſtake; for if the towers were broad, there would not be room for them on the backs of ele-

plants; for he and a friend who was an able calculatour, had measured a very large elephant at Naples, and made a computation of the space necessary to hold the number of men said to be contained in those towers, and they found that the back of the broadest elephant would not be sufficient, after making the fullest allowance for what might be hung by ballance on either side of the animal. If again the towers were high, they would fall; for he did not think it at all probable, that the Romans had the art of tying on such monstrous machines at a time when they had not learnt the use even of girths to their saddles. He said he did not give too much credit to the figures on Trajan's pillar, many of which were undoubtedly false. He said it was his opinion, that those towers were only drawn by the elephants; an opinion founded in probability, and free from the difficulties of that which has been commonly received.

Talking of various schemes of life, fit for a man of spirit and education; I mentioned to him that of being a foreign minister. He said he thought it a very agreeable employment for a man of parts and address, during

during some years of his life. 'In that situation, said he, a man will insensibly attain to a greater knowledge of men and manners, and a more perfect acquaintance with the politicks of Europe. He will be promoted according to the returns which he makes to his court. They must be accurate, distinct, without fire or ornament. He may subjoin his own opinion, but he must do it with great modesty. The ministry at home are proud.'

He said the greatest happiness was not in glory, but in goodness; and that Penn in his American colony, where he had established a people in quiet and contentment, was happier than Alexander the Great after destroying multitudes at the conquest of Thebes. He observed that the history of Alexander is obscure and dubious; for his captains who divided his kingdom, were too busy to record his life and actions, and would at any rate wish to render him odious to posterity.

Never was I so thoroughly sensible of my own defects as while I was in Corsica. I felt how small were my abilities, and how little I knew. Ambitious to be the companion of Paoli, and to understand a country

and a people which roused me so much, I wished to be a Sir James MacDonald (a).

The last day which I spent with Paoli, appeared of inestimable value. I thought him more than usually great and amiable, when I was upon the eve of parting from him. The night before my departure, a little incident happened which shewed him in a most agreeable light. When the servants were bringing in the desert after supper, one of them chanced to let fall a plate of walnuts. Instead of flying into a passion at what the man could not help, Paoli said with a smile, 'No matter;' and turning to me, 'It is a good sign for you, Sir, Tempus est spargere nuces, It is time to scatter walnuts. It is a matrimonial omen: You must go home to your own country, and marry some fine woman whom you really like. I shall rejoice to hear of it.'

(a) Sir James MacDonald baronet of the isle of Sky, who at the age of one and twenty, had the learning and abilities of a Professour and a statesman, with the accomplishments of a man of the world. Eton and Oxford will ever remember him as one of their greatest ornaments. He was well known to the most distinguished in Europe, but was carried off from all their expectations. He died at Frescati, near Rome, in 1765. Had he lived a little longer, I believe I should have prevailed with him to visit Corsica.

This was a pretty allusion to the Roman ceremony at weddings, of scattering walnuts. So Virgil's Damon says,

Mopse novas incide faces; tibi ducitur uxor.
Sparge marite nuces: tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam.
Virg. Eclog. viii. l. 30.

Thy bride comes forth! begin the festal rites!
The walnuts strew! prepare the nuptial lights!
Envied husband, now thy bliss is nigh!
Behold for thee bright Hesper mounts the sky!
WARTON.

When I again asked Paoli if it was possible for me in any way to shew him my great respect and attachment, he replied, 'Ricordatevi che Io vi sia amico, e scrivetemi.' Remember that I am your friend, and write to me.' I said I hoped that when he honoured me with a letter, he would write not only as a commander, but as a philosopher and a man of letters. He took me by the hand, and said, 'As a friend.' I dare not transcribe from my private notes the feelings which I had at this interview. I should perhaps appear too enthusiastick. I took leave of Paoli with regret and agitation, not without some hopes of seeing him again. From having known intimately so exalted a character, my sentiments of hu-

man nature were raiſed, while, by a ſort of contagion, I felt an honeſt ardour to diſtinguiſh myſelf, and be uſeful, as far as my ſituation and abilities would allow; and I was, for the reſt of my life, ſet free from a ſlaviſh timidity in the preſence of great men, for where ſhall I find a man greater than Paoli?

When I ſet out from Sollacarò, I felt myſelf a good deal indiſpoſed. The old houſe of Colonna, like the family of its maſter, was much decayed; ſo that both wind and rain found their way into my bed-chamber. From this I contracted a ſevere cold, which ended in a tertian ague. There was no help for it. I might well ſubmit to ſome inconveniences, where I had enjoyed ſo much happineſs.

I was accompanied a part of the road by a great ſwarthy prieſt, who had never been out of Corſica. He was a very Hercules for ſtrength and reſolution. He and two other Corſicans took a caſtle garriſoned by no leſs than fifteen Genoeſe. Indeed the Corſicans have ſuch a contempt for their enemies, that I have heard them ſay, 'Baſterebbero in donne contra i Genoveſi, Our women would be enough againſt the Genoeſe.' This prieſt

was a bluff, hearty, roaring fellow, troubled neither with knowledge nor care. He was ever and anon shewing me how stoutly his nag could caper. He always rode some paces before me, and sat in an attitude half turned round, with his hand clapped upon the crupper. Then he would burst out with comical songs about the devil and the Genoese, and I don't know what all. In short, notwithstanding my severishness, he kept me laughing whether I would or no.

I was returning to Corte, but I varied my road a little from the way I had come, going more upon the low country, and nearer the western shore.

At Cauro I had a fine view of Ajaccio and its environs. My ague was some time of forming, so I had frequent intervals of ease, which I employed in observing whatever occurred. I was lodged at Cauro in the house of Signor Peraldi of Ajaccio, who received me with great politeness. I found here another provincial magistracy. Before supper, Signor Peraldi and a young Abbé of Ajaccio entertained me with some airs on the violin. After they had shewn me their taste in fine improved musick, they gave me

ſome original Corſican airs, and at my deſire, they brought up four of the guards of the magiſtracy, and made them ſhew me a Corſican dance. It was truly ſavage. They thumped with their heels, ſprung upon their toes, brandiſhed their arms, wheeled and leaped with the moſt violent geſticulations. It gave me the idea of an admirable war dance.

During this journey I had very bad weather. I cannot forget the worthy rector of Cuttoli, whoſe houſe afforded me a hoſpitable retreat, when wet to the ſkin, and quite overcome by the ſeverity of the ſtorm, which my ſickneſs made me little able to reſiſt. He was directly ſuch a venerable hermit as we read of in the old romances. His figure and manner intereſted me at firſt ſight. I found he was a man well reſpected in the iſland, and that the General did him the honour to correſpond with him. He gave me a ſimple collation of eggs, cheſtnuts and wine, and was very liberal of his ham and other more ſubſtantial victuals to my ſervant. The honeſt Swiſs was by this time very well pleaſed to have his face turned towards the continent.

He was heartily tired of seeing foreign parts, and meeting with scanty meals and hard beds, in an island which he could not comprehend the pleasure of visiting. He said to me, 'Si J'etois encore une fois retourné à mon pais parmi ces montagnes de Suisse dont monsieur fait tant des plaisanteries, Je verrai qui m'engagera à les quitter. If I were once more at home in my own country, among those mountains of Switzerland, on which you have had so many jokes, I will see who shall prevail with me to quit them.'

The General out of his great politeness, would not allow me to travel without a couple of chosen guards to attend me in case of any accidents. I made them my companions, to relieve the tediousness of my journey. One of them called Ambrosio, was a strange iron-coloured fearless creature. He had been much in war; careless of wounds, he was cooly intent on destroying the enemy. He told me, as a good anecdote, that having been so lucky as to get a view of two Genoese exactly in a line, he took his aim, and shot them both through the head at once. He talked of this, just as one would talk of shooting a couple of crows.

I was ſure I needed be under no apprehenſion; but I don't know how, I deſired Anbroiſo to march before me that I might ſee him.

I was upon my guard how I treated him. But as ſickneſs frets one's temper, I ſometimes forgot myſelf, and called him 'beſtia, blockhead;' and once when he was at a loſs which way to go, at a wild woody part of the country, I fell into a paſſion, and called to him 'Mi maraviglio che un uomo ſi bravo può eſſer ſi ſtupido. I am amazed that ſo brave a man can be ſo ſtupid.' However by afterwards calling him friend, and ſpeaking ſoftly to him, I ſoon made him forget my ill humour, and we proceeded as before.

Paoli had alſo been ſo good as to make me a preſent of one of his dogs, a ſtrong and fierce animal. But he was too old to take an attachment to me, and I loſt him between Lyons and Paris. The General has promiſed me a young one, to be a guard at Auchinleck.

At Bogognano I came upon the ſame road I had formerly travelled from Corte, where I arrived ſafe after all my fatigues. My good fathers of the Franciſcan convent,

received me like an old acquaintance, and shewed a kind concern at my illness. I sent my respects to the great Chancellor, who returned me a note, of which I insert a translation as a specimen of the hearty civility to be found among the highest in Corsica.

'Many congratulations to Mr. Boswell on his return from beyond the mountains, from his servant Massesi, who is at the same time very sorry for his indisposition, which he is persuaded has been occasioned by his severe journey. He however flatters himself, that when Mr. Boswell has reposed himself a little, he will recover his usual health. In the mean time he has taken the liberty to send him a couple of fowls, which he hopes he will honour with his acceptance, as he will need some refreshment this evening. He wishes him a good night, as does his little servant Luigi, who will attend him to-morrow, to discharge his duty.'

My ague distressed me so much, that I was confined to the convent for several days. I did not however weary. I was visited by the Great Chancellor, and several others of the civil magistrates, and by Padre Mariani, rector of the university, a man of

learning and abilities, the proofs of which he had been three years at Madrid in the character of ſecretary to the General of the Franciſcans. I remember a very eloquent expreſſion of his, on the ſtate of his country. 'Corſica, ſaid he, has for many years paſt been bleeding at all her veins. They are now cloſed. But after being ſo ſeverely exhauſted, it will take ſome time before ſhe can recover perfect ſtrength.' I was alſo viſited by Padre Leonardo, of whoſe animating diſcourſe I have made mention in a former part of this book.

Indeed I ſhould not have been at a loſs though my very reverend fathers had been all my ſociety. I was not in the leaſt looked upon as a heretick. Difference of faith was forgotten in hoſpitality. I went about the convent as if I had been in my own houſe; and the fathers, without any impropriety of mirth, were yet as chearful as I could deſire.

I had two ſurgeons to attend me at Corte, a Corſican and a Piedmonteſe; and I got a little Jeſuit's bark from the ſpiceria or apothecary's ſhop, of the Capuchin convent. I did not however expect to be effectually cured, till I ſhould get to Baſtia.

found it was perfectly safe for me to go thither. There was a kind of truce between the Corficans and the French. Paoli had held two amicable conferences with Monsieur Marbeuf their commander in chief, and was so well with him, that he gave me a letter of recommendation to him.

On one of the days that my ague disturbed me least, I walked from the convent to Corte, purposely to write a letter to Mr. Samuel Johnson. I told my revered friend, that from a kind of superstition agreeable in a certain degree to him, as well as to myself, I had during my travels, written to him from LOCA SOLENNIA, places in some measure sacred. That as I had written to him from the Tomb of Melancthon, sacred to learning and piety, I now wrote to him from the palace of Pascal Paoli, sacred to wisdom and liberty; knowing that however his political principles may have been represented, he had always a generous zeal for the common rights of humanity. I gave him a sketch of the great things I had seen in Corsica, and promised him a more ample relation.

Mr. Johnson was pleased with what I wrote here; for I received at Paris an answer from him which I keep as a valuable

chaster. 'When you return, you will ever
'turn to an unaltered, and I hope, unalter-
'able friend. All that you have to fear
'from me, is the vexation of disappointing
'me. No man loves to frustrate expecta-
'tions which have been formed in his fa-
'vour, and the pleasure which I promise
'myself from your journals and remarks, is
'so great, that perhaps no degree of atten-
'tion or discernment will be sufficient to
'afford it. Come home however and take
'your chance. I long to see you, and to
'hear you; and hope that we shall not be
'so long separated again. Come home, and
'expect such a welcome as is due to him
'whom a wise and noble curiosity has led
'where perhaps, no native of this country
'ever was before.'

I at length set out for Bastia. I went the first night to Rostino, hoping to have found there Signor Clemente de' Paoli. But unluckily he had gone upon a visit to his daughter; so that I had not an opportunity of seeing this extraordinary personage, of whom I have given so full an account, for a great part of which I am indebted to Mr. Burnaby.

Next day I reached Verscovato, where I was received by Signor Bottaccio, who

provid superiour to the character I had conceived of him from the letter of Mr Rousseau. I found in him the incorrupted virtues of the brave islander, with the improvements of the continent. I found him, in short, to be a man of principle, abilities and knowledge; and at the same time a man of the world. He is now deservedly raised to the rank of colonel of the Royal Corsicans, in the service of France.

I past some days with Signor Buttafoco, from whose conversation I received so much pleasure, that I in a great measure forgot my ague.

As various discourses have been held in Europe, concerning an invitation given to M. Rousseau to come to Corsica; and as that affair was conducted by Signor Buttafoco, who shewed me the whole correspondence between him and M. Rousseau, I am enabled to give a distinct account of it.

Mr Rousseau in his Political Treatise, entitled Du CONTRACT SOCIAL, has the following observation. 'Il est encore en Europe un pays capable de législation; c'est l'isle de Corse. La valeur et la constance avec laquelle ce brave peuple a su recouvrer et défendre sa liberté mériteroit bien que

quelque homme ſage lui apprit à la conſerver. J'ai quelque preſſentiment qu'un jour cette petite iſle etonnera l'Europe. (a) There is yet one country in Europe, capable of legiſlation; and that is the iſland of Corſica. The valour and the conſtancy with which that brave people hath recovered and defended its liberty, would well deſerve that ſome wiſe man ſhould teach them how to preſerve it. I have ſome preſentiment that one day that little iſland will aſtoniſh Europe.

Signor Buttafoco, upon this, wrote to M. Rouſſeau, returning him thanks for the honour he had done to the Corſican nation, and ſtrongly inviting him to come over, and be that wiſe man who ſhould illuminate their minds.

I was allowed to take a copy of the wild philoſopher's anſwer to this invitation; it is written with his uſual eloquence.

'Il eſt ſuperflu, Monſieur, de chercher à 'exciter mon zele pour l'entrepriſe que vous 'me propoſez. Sa ſeule idée m'eleve l'ame 'et me tranſporte. Je croirois le reſte de 'mes jours bien noblement, bien vertueuſe-'ment et bien heureuſement employés, ſi je 'croirois meme avoir bien racheté l'inuti-

(a) Du Contract Social. liv. ii. chap. 10.

'tilité des autres, si je pouvois rendre ce triste reste bon en quelque chose à vos braves compatriotes, si je pouvois concourir par quelque conseil utile aux vûes de votre digne Chef et aux votres; de ce côté là donc soyez sur de moi. Ma vie et mon coeur sont à vous.'

'It is superfluous, Sir, to endeavour to excite my zeal for the undertaking which you propose to me. The very idea of it elevates my soul and transports me. I should esteem the rest of my days very nobly, very virtuously, and very happily employed. I should even think that I well redeemed the inutility of many of my days that are past, if I could render these sad remains of any advantage to your brave countrymen. If by any useful advice, I could concur in the views of your worthy Chief, and in yours. So far then you may be sure of me. My life and my heart are devoted to you.'

Such were the first effusions of Rousseau. Yet before he concluded even this first letter, he made a great many complaints of his adversities and persecutions, and started a variety of difficulties as to the proposed enterprise.

The correſpondence was kept up for ſome time, but the enthuſiaſm of the paradoxical philoſopher gradually ſubſiding, the ſcheme came to nothing.

As I have formerly obſerved, M. De Voltaire thought proper to exerciſe his pleaſantry upon occaſion of this propoſal, in order to vex the grave Rouſſeau, whom he never could bear. I remember he uſed to talk of him with a ſatyrical ſmile, and call him, 'Ce Garçon, That Lad;' I find this among my notes of M. de Voltaire's converſations, when I was with him at his Chateau de Ferney, where he entertains with the elegance rather of a real prince than of a poetical one.

To have Voltaire's aſſertion contradicted by a letter under Paoli's own hand, was no doubt a ſufficient ſatisfaction to Rouſſeau.

From the account which I have attempted to give of the preſent conſtitution of Corſica, and of its illuſtrious Legiſlatour and General, it may well be conceived that the ſcheme of bringing M. Rouſſeau into that iſland, was magnified to an extravagant degree by the reports of the continent. It was ſaid, that Rouſſeau was to be made no leſs than a Solon by the Corſicans, who were implicitly to receive from him a code of laws.

This was by no means the ſcheme. Paoli was too able a man to ſubmit the legiſlation of his country to one who was an entire ſtranger to the people, the manners, and in ſhort to every thing in the iſland. Nay I know well that Paoli pays more regard to what has been tried by the experience of ages, than to the moſt beautiful ideal ſyſtems. Beſides, the Corſicans were not all at once to be moulded at will. They were to be gradually prepared, and by one law laying the foundation for another, a compleat fabrick of juriſprudence was to be formed.

Paoli's intention was to grant a generous aſylum to Rouſſeau, to avail himſelf of the ſhining talents which appeared in his writings, by conſulting with him, and catching the lights of his rich imagination, from many of which he might derive improvements to thoſe plans which his own wiſdom had laid down.

But what he had principally in view, was to employ the pen of Rouſſeau in recording the heroick actions of the brave iſlanders. It is to be regretted that this project did not take place. The father of the preſent colonel Buttafoco made large collections for many years back. Theſe are carefully pre-

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ſerved, and when joined to thoſe made by the Abbé Roſtini, would furniſh ample materials for a Hiſtory of Corſica. This, adorned with the genius of Rouſſeau, would have been one of the nobleſt monuments of modern times.

Signor Buttafoco accompanied me to Baſtia. It was comfortable to enter a good warm town after my fatigues. We went to the houſe of Signor Morelli, a counſellor at law here, with whom we ſupped. I was lodged for that night by a friend of Signor Buttafoco, in another part of the town.

Next morning I waited on M. de Marboeuf. Signor Buttafoco introduced me to him, and I preſented him the letter of recommendation from Paoli. He gave me a moſt polite reception. The brilliancy of his levee pleaſed me; it was a ſcene ſo different from thoſe which I had been for ſome time accuſtomed to ſee. It was like paſſing at once from a rude and early age, to a poliſhed modern age; from the mountains of Corſica, to the banks of the Seine.

My ague was now become ſo violent, that it got the better of me altogether. I was obliged to aſk the French general's permiſſion to have a chair ſet for me in the circle.

When M. de Marboeuf was informed of my being ill, he had the goodneſs to aſk me to ſtay in his houſe till I ſhould recover; 'I inſiſt upon it, ſaid he; I have a warm room for you. My ſervants will get you bouillons, and every thing proper for a ſick man; and we have an excellent phyſician.' I mention all theſe circumſtances to ſhew the goodneſs of M. de Marboeuf, to whom I ſhall ever conſider myſelf as under great obligations. His invitation was given in ſo kind and cordial a manner, that I willingly accepted of it.

I found M. de Marboeuf a worthy open-hearted Frenchman. It is a common and a very juſt remark, that one of the moſt agreeable characters in the world is a Frenchman who has ſerved long in the army, and has arrived at that age when the fire of youth is properly tempered. Such a character is gay without levity, and judicious without ſeverity. Such a character was the Count de Marboeuf, of an ancient family in Britanny, where there is more plainneſs of character than among the other French. He had been Gentilhomme de la Chambre to the worthy King Staniſlaus.

He took charge of me as if he had been my near relation. He furniſhed me with books and every thing he could think of to amuſe me. While the phyſician ordered me to be kept very quiet, M. de Marboeuf would allow nobody to go near me, but payed me a friendly viſit alone. As I grew better, he gradually increaſed my ſociety, bringing with him more and more of his officers; ſo that I had at laſt the honour of very large companies in my apartment. The officers were polite agreeable men: ſome of them had been priſoners in England, during the laſt war. One of them was a Chevalier de St. Louis, of the name of Douglas, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Douglas in Scotland, by a branch ſettled near to Lyons. This gentleman often came and ſat with me. The idea of our being in ſome ſort countrymen, was pleaſing to us both.

I found here an Engliſh woman of Penrith in Cumberland. When the Highlanders marched through that country in the year 1745, ſhe had married a ſoldier of the French picquets in the very midſt of all the confuſion and danger, and when ſhe could hardly underſtand one word he ſaid. Such freaks will love ſometimes take.

Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub juga ahenea
Saevo mittere cum joco.
HORAT. lib. I. Od. 33.

So Venus wills, whose power controuls
The fond affections of our souls;
With sportive cruelty she binds
Unequal forms, unequal minds.
FRANCIS.

M. de la Chapelle was the physician who attended me. He had been several years physician to the army at Minorca, and had now the same office in Corsica. I called him the physician of the isles. He was indeed an excellent one. That gayeté de coeur which the French enjoy, runs through all their professions. I remember the phrase of an English common soldier who told me, 'that at the battle of Fontenoy, his captain received a shot in the breast, and fell, said the soldier, with his spontoon in his hand, as prettily killed as ever I see'd a gentleman.' The soldier's phrase might be used in talking of almost every thing which the French do. I may say I was prettily cured by M. de la Chapelle.

But I think myself bound to relate a circumstance which shews him and his nation in the genteelest light. Though he attend-

ed me with the greateſt aſſiduity, yet, when I was going away, he would not accept of a ſingle Louis d'or. 'No Sir, ſaid he, I am nobly paid by my king. I am phyſician to his army here. If I can at the ſame time, be of ſervice to the people of the country, or to any gentleman who may come among us, I am happy. But I muſt be excuſed from taking money.' M. Brion the ſurgeon major behaved in the ſame manner.

As ſoon as I had gathered a little ſtrength, I walked about as well as I could; and ſaw what was to be ſeen at Baſtia. Signor Morelli was remarkably obliging. He made me preſents of books and antiques, and of every other curioſity relating to Corſica. I never ſaw a more generous man. Signor Caraffa, a Corſican officer in the ſervice of France, with the order of St. Louis, was alſo very obliging. Having made a longer ſtay in Corſica than I intended, my finances were exhauſted, and he let me have as much money as I pleaſed. M. Barlé, ſecretary to M. de Marboeuf, was alſo very obliging. In ſhort, I know not how to expreſs my thankfulneſs to all the good people whom I ſaw at Baſtia.

The French ſeemed to agree very well

with the Corſicans. Of old, thoſe iſlanders were much indebted to the interpoſition of France, in their favour. But ſince the days of Sampiero, there have been many variances between them. A ſingular one happened in the reign of Lewis XIV. The Pope's Corſican guards in ſome fit of paſſion inſulted the French ambaſſadour at Rome. The ſuperb monarch reſolved to revenge this outrage. But Pope Alexander VII. foreſeeing the conſequences, agreed to the conditions required by France; which were, that the Corſican guards ſhould be obliged to depart the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, that the nation ſhould be declared incapable ever to ſerve the holy ſee, and, that oppoſite to their ancient guard-houſe, ſhould be erected a pyramid inſcribed with their diſgrace (*a*).

Le Brun, whoſe royal genius could magnify and enrich every circumſtance in honour of his ſovereign, has given this ſtory as a medaillon on one of the compartments of the great gallery at Verſailles. France appears with a ſtately air, ſhewing to Rome the deſign of the pyramid; and Rome, though bearing a ſhield marked S. P. Q. R. receives the deſign with moſt ſubmiſſive humility.

(*a*) Corps Diplomatique anno 1664.

I wish that France had never done the Corſicans greater harm than depriving them of the honour of being the pope's guards. Boiſſeux and Maillebois cannot eaſily be forgotten; nor can the brave iſlanders be blamed for complaining that a powerful nation ſhould interpoſe to retard their obtaining entire poſſeſſion of their country, and of undiſturbed freedom.

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each garison town, where the Corsican peasants have sold all sorts of provisions, and brought in a good many French crowns, which have been melted down into Corsican money. A cessation of arms for a few years has been a breathing time to the nation, to prepare itself for one great effort, which will probably end in a total expulsion of the Genoese. A little leisure has been given for attending to civil improvements, towards which the example of the French has in no small degree contributed. Many of the soldiers were excellent handy-craftsmen, and could instruct the natives in various arts.

M. de Marboeuf entertained himself by laying out several elegant pieces of pleasure ground; and such were the humane and amicable dispositions of this respectable officer, that he was at pains to observe what things were most wanted in Corsica, and then imported them from France, in order to shew an example to the inhabitants. He introduced in particular, the culture of potatoes, of which there were none in the island upon his arrival. This root will be of considerable service to the Corsicans; it will make a wholesome variety in their food.

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These important truths I fairly owned to him, and he seemed to exult over me.

I was more and more obliged to M. de Marboeuf. When I was allowed by my physician, to go to his Excellency's table, where we had always a large company, and every thing in great magnificence, he was so careful of me, that he would not suffer me to eat any thing, or taste a glass of wine, more than was prescribed for me. He used to say, 'I am here both physician and commander in chief; so you must submit.' He very politely prest me to make some stay with him, saying, 'We have taken care of you when sick, I think we have a claim to you for a while, when in health.' His kindness followed me after I left him. It procured me an agreeable reception from M. Michel, the French chargé d'affaires at Genoa; and was the occasion of my being honoured with great civilities at Paris, by M. L'Abbè de Marboeuf conseiller d'etat, brother of the Count, and possessing similar virtues in private life.

I quitted Corsica with reluctance, when I thought of the illustrious Paoli. I wrote to him from Bastia, informing him of my illness, which I said, was owing to his having

made me a man of ſo much conſequence, that inſtead of putting me into a ſmall little room, he had lodged me in the magnificent old palace, where the wind and rain entered.

His anſwer to my firſt letter is written with ſo much ſpirit, that I begged his permiſſion to publiſh it, which he granted in the genteeleſt manner, ſaying, 'I do not remember the contents of the letter; but I have ſuch a confidence in Mr. Boſwell, that I am ſure, he would not publiſh it, if there was any thing in it improper for public view; ſo he has my permiſſion.' I am thus enabled to preſent my readers with an original letter from Paoli.

TO JAMES BOSWELL, Eſq;

OF AUCHINLECK, SCOTLAND.

STIMATISSIMO SIGNOR BOSWELL,

RICEVEI la lettera che mi favorì da Baſtia, e mi conſolo aſſai colla notizia di eſſerſi rimeſſa in perfetta ſalute. Buon per lei che cadde in mano di un valente medico! Quando altra volta il diſguſto de' paſſi colti, ed amari lo prendeſſe, e lo portaſſe in queſta

infelice contrada, procurerò che sia alloggiata in camere più calde, e guidotta di quelle della casa Colonna in Sollacaro; ma ella ancora dovrà contentarsi di non viaggiare quando la giornata, e la stagione vogliono che si resti in casa per attendere il tempo buono. Io resto ora impazientissimo per la lettera che ha promesso scrivermi da Genova, dove dubito abbia fatto fare qualche giorno di quarantena, per espurgarsi di ogni anche più leggiero influsso, che possa avere portato seco dell' aria di questo paese; e molto più, se le fosse venuto il capriccio di far vedere quell' abito di veluto Corso, e quel berrettone, di cui i Corsi vogliono l'origine dagli elmi antichi, ed i Genovesi lo dicono inventato da quelli, che, rubando alla strada, non vogliano essere conosciuti: come se in tempo del loro governo avessero mai avuta apprensione di castigo i ladri pubblici? Son sicuro però, che ella presso avrà il buon partito con quelle amabili, e delicate persone, insinuando alle medesime, che il cuore delle belle è fatto per la compassione, non per il disprezzo, e per la tirannia; e così sarà rientrato facilmente nella loro grazia. Io ritornato in Corte ebbi subito la notizia del secreto sbarco dell' Ab-

ſicans will have the origin to be from the ancient helmets, whereas the Genoeſe ſay it was invented by thoſe who rob on the high way, in order to diſguiſe themſelves; as if during the Genoeſe government, publick robbers needed to fear puniſhment. I am ſure however, that you will have taken the proper method with theſe amiable and delicate perſons, inſinuating to them, that the hearts of beauties are formed for compaſſion, and not for diſdain and tyranny; and ſo you will have been eaſily reſtored to their good graces. Immediately on my return to Corte, I received information of the ſecret landing of Abbatucci (a), on the coaſt of Solenzara. All appearances make us believe, that he is come with deſigns contrary to the publick quiet. He has however ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner at the caſtle, and proteſts his repentance. As I paſſed by Bogognano, I learnt that a diſbanded Genoeſe officer was ſeeking aſſociates to aſſaſſinate me. He could not ſucceed, and finding that he was diſcovered, he betook himſelf to the woods, where he has been ſlain by the party detached by the magiſtrates of the provinces on the other ſide of the mountains.

(a) Abbatucci a Corſican of a very ſeditious character.

in order to intercept him. These ambuscades do not seem to be good preliminaries towards our accommodation with the republick of Genoa. I am now holding this syndicate in the province of Nebbio. About the 10th of next month, I shall go, for the same object, into the province of Capo Corso, and during the month of February, I shall probably fix my residence in Balagna. I shall return to Corte in the spring, to prepare myself for the opening of the General Consulta. Wherever I am, your friendship will be present to my mind, and I shall be desirous to continue a correspondence with you. Meanwhile believe me to be

Your most affectionate friend.

PATRIMONIO,
23 December, 1765.

PASCAL PAOLI.

Can any thing be more condescending, and at the same time shew more the firmness of an heroick mind, than this letter? With what a gallant pleasantry does the Corsican Chief talk of his enemies! One would think that the Queens of Genoa should become

I wish that France had never done the Corficans greater harm than depriving them of the honour of being the pope's guards. Boiffeux and Maillebois cannot eaſily be forgotten; nor can the brave Flanders be blamed for complaining that a powerful nation ſhould interpoſe to retard their obtaining entire poſſeſſion of their country, and of undiſturbed freedom.

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and as there will thereby, of consequence, be less home consumption of chemicals, they will be able to export a greater quantity of them.

M. de Marbœuf made merry upon the reports which had been circulated, that I was no less than a minister from the British court. The Avignon Gazette brought us one day information, that the English were going to establish Un Bureau de Commerce in Corsica. 'O Sir, said he, the secret is out. I see now the motive of your destination to these parts. It is you who are to establish this Bureau de Commerce.'

Idle as these rumours were, it is a fact that, when I was at Genoa, Signor Gherardi, one of their secretaries of state, very seriously told me, 'Monsieur, vous m'avez fait trembler quoique je ne vous ai jamais vu. Sir, you have made me tremble although I never saw you before.' And when I smiled and assured him that I was just a simple traveller, he shook his head, but said, he had very authentick information concerning me. He then told me with great gravity, 'That while I travelled in Corsica, I was dress in scarlet and gold; but when I payed my respects to the Supreme Council at Corte, I appeared in a full suit of black.'

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I was more and more obliged to M. de Marboeuf. When I was allowed by my physician, to go to his Excellency's table, where we had always a large company, and every thing in great magnificence, he was so careful of me, that he would not [illegible] me to eat any thing, or taste a glass of wine, more than was prescribed for me. He [illegible] to say, 'I am here both physician and commander in chief; so you must [illegible]. He very politely prest me to make [illegible] with him, saying, 'We have [illegible] you when sick, I think we have [illegible] you for a while, when in health. His [illegible]ness followed me after I left [illegible] cured me an agreeable [illegible] Michel, the French [illegible] Genoa; and was the [illegible] honoured with [illegible] M. L'Abbé [illegible] broth[illegible]

[illegible] alle[illegible] per[illegible] e per[illegible] mente[illegible] rte ebbi[illegible] dell' Ab[illegible]

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His answer to my first letter is written with so much spirit, that I begged his permission to publish it, which he granted in the genteelest manner, saying, 'I do not remember the contents of the letter; but I have such a confidence in Mr. Boswell, that I am sure, he would not publish it, if there was any thing in it improper for public view; so he has my permission.' I am thus enabled to present my readers with an original letter from Paoli,

TO JAMES BOSWELL, Esq;

OF AUCHINLECK, SCOTLAND.

STIMATISSIMO SIGNOR BOSWELL,

RICEVEI la lettera che mi favorì da Bastia, e mi consolo assai colla notizia di essermi rimessa in perfetta salute. Buon per lei che cadde in mano di un valente medico! Quando altra volta il disgusto de' paesi colti, ed ameni lo prendesse, e lo portasse in questa

infelice contrada, procurerò che sia alloggiata in camere più calde, e custodita di quelle della casa Colonna in Sollacarò; ma ella ancora dovrà contentarsi di non viaggiare quando la giornata, e la stagione vogliono che si resti in casa per attendere il tempo buono. Io resto ora impaziente per la lettera che ha promesso scrivermi da Genova, dove dubito assai che la delicatezza di quelle dame non le abbia fatto fare qualche giorno di quarantena, per ispurgarsi di ogni anche più leggiero influsso, che possa avere portato seco dell' aria di questo paese; e molto più, se le fosse venuto il capriccio di far vedere quell' abito di veluto Corso, e quel berrettone, di cui i Corsi vogliono l'origine dagli elmi antichi, ed i Genovesi lo dicono inventato da quelli, che, rubando alla strada, non vogliano essere conosciuti: come se in tempo del loro governo avessero mai avuta apprensione di castigo i ladri pubblici? Son sicuro però, che ella presso avrà il buon partito con quelle amabili, e delicate persone, insinuando alle medesime, che il cuore delle belle è fatto per la compassione, non per il disprezzo, e per la tirannia; e così sarà rientrato facilmente nella lor grazia. Io ritornato in Corte ebbi subito la notizia del secreto sbarco dell' Ab-

batucci nelle ſpiaggie di Solenzara. Tutte le apparenze fanno credere che il medeſimo ſia venuto con diſegni oppoſti alla pubblica quiete; pure ſi è conſtituito in caſtello, e proteſta ravvedimento. Nel venire per Bocognano ſi ſeppe, che un capitano riformato Genoveſe cercava compagni per aſſaſſinarmi. Non potè rinvenirne e vedendoſi ſcoperto ſi poſe alla macchia, dove è ſtato ucciſo dalle ſquadriglie che gli tenevano dietro i magiſtrati delle provincie oltramontane. Queſte inſidie non ſembrano buoni preliminari del noſtro accomodamento colla repubblica di Genova. Io ſto paſſando il ſindicato a queſta provincia di Nebbio. Verſo il 10 dell' entrante anderò per l' iſteſſo oggetto in quella del Capocorſo, ed il meſe di Febrajo facilmente mi tratterrò in Balagna. Ritornerò poi in Corte alla primavera, per prepararmi all' apertura della conſulta generale. In ogni luogo avrò preſente la ſua amicizia, e ſarò deſideroſo de' continui ſuoi riſcontri. Frattanto ella mi creda

Suo affettuoſiſſimo amico

PATRIMONIO,
23 Decembre, 1765.

PASQUALE DE' PAOLI.

MUCH ESTEEMED MR. BOSWELL,

I RECEIVED the letter which you wrote to me from Baſtia, and am much comforted by hearing that you are reſtored to perfect health. It is lucky for you that you fell into the hands of an able phyſician. When you ſhall again be ſeized with a diſguſt at improved and agreeable countries, and ſhall return to this ill-fated land, I will take care to have you lodged in warmer and better finiſhed apartments than thoſe of the houſe of Colonna, at Sollacaro. But you again ſhould be ſatisfied not to travel when the weather and the ſeaſon require one to keep within doors, and wait for a fair day. I expect with impatience the letter which you promiſed to write to me from Genoa, where I much ſuſpect that the delicacy of the ladies will have obliged you to perform ſome days of quarantine, for purifying you from every the leaſt infection, which you may have carried with you from the air of this country: and ſtill more ſo, if you have taken the whim to ſhew that ſuit of Corſican velvet * and that bonnet of which the Cor-

* By Corſican velvet he means the coarſe ſtuff made in the iſland, which is all that the Corſicans have in ſtead of the fine velvet of Genoa.

ſicans will have this origin to be from the ancient helmets, whereas the Genoeſe ſay it was invented by thoſe who rob on the high way, in order to diſguiſe themſelves, as if during the Genoeſe government, publick robbers needed to fear puniſhment. I am ſure however, that you will have taken the proper method with theſe amiable and delicate perſons, inſinuating to them, that the hearts of beauties are formed for compaſſion, and not for diſdain and tyranny; and ſo you will have been eaſily reſtored to their good graces. Immediately on my return to Corte, I received information of the ſecret landing of Abbatucci (a), on the coaſt of Solenzara. All appearances make us believe, that he is come with deſigns contrary to the publick quiet. He has however ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner at the caſtle, and proteſts his repentance. As I paſſed by Bogognano, I learnt that a diſbanded Genoeſe officer was ſeeking aſſociates to aſſaſſinate me. He could not ſucceed, and, finding that he was diſcovered, he betook himſelf to the woods; where he has been ſlain by the party detached by the magiſtrates of the provinces on the other ſide of the mountains.

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in order to intercept him. These ambuscades do not seem to be good preliminaries towards our accommodation with the republick of Genoa. I am now holding the syndicato in this province of Nebbio. About the 10th of next month, I shall go, for the same object, into the province of Capo Corso, and during the month of February, I shall probably fix my residence in Balagna. I shall return to Corte in the spring, to prepare myself for the opening of the General Consulta. Wherever I am, your friendship will be present to my mind, and I shall be desirous to continue a correspondence with you. Meanwhile believe me to be

Your most affectionate friend.

PATRIMONIO,
23 December, 1765.

PASCAL PAOLI.

Can any thing be more condescending, and at the same time shew more the firmness of an heroick mind, than this letter? With what a gallant pleasantry does the Corsican Chief talk of his enemies! One would think that the Queens of Genoa should become

I wish that France had never done the Corſicans greater harm than depriving them of the honour of being the pope's guards. Boiſſeux and Maillebois cannot eaſily be forgotten; nor can the brave iſlanders be blamed for complaining that a powerful nation ſhould interpoſe to retard their obtaining entire poſſeſſion of their country, and of undiſturbed freedom.

M. de Marboeuf appeared to conduct himſelf with the greateſt prudence and moderation. He told me that he wiſhed to preſerve peace in Corſica. He had entered into a convention with Paoli, mutually to give up ſuch criminals as ſhould fly into each others territories. Formerly not one criminal in a hundred was puniſhed. There was no communication between the Corſicans and the Genoeſe; and if a criminal could but eſcape from the one juriſdiction to the other, he was ſafe. This was very eaſily done, ſo that crimes from impunity were very frequent. By this equitable convention, juſtice has been fully adminiſtered.

Perhaps indeed the reſidence of the French in Corſica, has, upon the whole, been an advantage to the patriots. There have been markets twice a week at the frontiers of

each garrison-town, where the Corſican peaſants have ſold all ſorts of proviſions, and brought in a good many French crowns, which have been melted down into Corſican money. A ceſſation of arms for a few years has been a breathing time to the nation, to prepare itſelf for one great effort, which will probably end in a total expulſion of the Genoeſe. A little leiſure has been given for attending to civil improvements, towards which the example of the French has in no ſmall degree contributed. Many of the ſoldiers were excellent handy-craftſmen, and could inſtruct the natives in various arts.

M. de Marboeuf entertained himſelf by laying out ſeveral elegant pieces of pleaſure ground; and ſuch were the humane and amicable diſpoſitions of this reſpectable officer, that he was at pains to obſerve what things were moſt wanted in Corſica, and then imported them from France, in order to ſhew an example to the inhabitants. He introduced in particular, the culture of potatoes, of which there were none in the iſland upon his arrival. This root will be of conſiderable ſervice to the Corſicans, it will make a wholeſome variety in their food;

and as there will thereby, of consequence, be less home consumption of chestnuts, they will be able to export a greater quantity of them.

M. de Marboeuf made merry upon the reports which had been circulated, that I was no less than a minister from the British court. The Avignon Gazette brought us one day information, that the English were going to establish Un Bureau de Commerce in Corsica. 'O Sir, said he, the secret is out. I see now the motive of your destination to these parts. It is you who are to establish this Bureau de Commerce.'

Idle as these rumours were, it is a fact that, when I was at Genoa, Signor Gherardi, one of their secretaries of state, very seriously told me, 'Monsieur, vous m'avez fait trembler quoique je ne vous ai jamais vu. Sir, you have made me tremble although I never saw you before.' And when I smiled and assured him that I was just a simple traveller, he shook his head; but said, he had very authentick information concerning me. He then told me with great gravity, 'That while I travelled in Corsica, I was dress in scarlet and gold; but when I payed my respects to the Supreme Council at Corte, I appeared in a full suit of black.'

These important truths I fairly owned to him, and he seemed to exult over me.

I was more and more obliged to M. de Marboeuf. When I was allowed by my physician, to go to his Excellency's table, where we had always a large company, and every thing in great magnificence, he was so careful of me, that he would not suffer me to eat any thing, or taste a glass of wine, more than was prescribed for me. He used to say, 'I am here both physician and commander in chief; so you must submit.' He very politely prest me to make some stay with him, saying, 'We have taken care of you when sick, I think we have a claim to you for a while, when in health.' His kindness followed me after I left him. It procured me an agreeable reception from M. Michel, the French chargé d'affaires at Genoa; and was the occasion of my being honoured with great civilities at Paris, by M. L'Abbè de Marboeuf conseiller d'etat, brother of the Count, and possessing similar virtues in private life.

I quitted Corsica with reluctance, when I thought of the illustrious Paoli. I wrote to him from Bastia, informing him of my illness, which I said, was owing to his having

made me a man of so much consequence, that, instead of putting me into a snug little room, he had lodged me in the magnificent old palace, where the wind and rain entered.

His answer to my first letter is written with so much spirit, that I begged his permission to publish it, which he granted in the genteelest manner, saying, 'I do not remember the contents of the letter; but I 'have such a confidence in Mr. Boswell 'that I am sure, he would not publish it, if 'there was any thing in it improper for pub-'lick view; so he has my permission.' I am thus enabled to present my readers with an original letter from Paoli,

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Suo affettuoſiſſimo amico

PATRIMONIO,
23 Decembre, 1765.

PASQUALE DE' PAOLI.

MUCH ESTEEMED Mr. BOSWELL,

I RECEIVED the letter which you wrote to me from Bastia, and am much comforted by hearing that you are restored to perfect health. It is lucky for you that you fell into the hands of an able physician. When you shall again be seized with a disgust at improved and agreeable countries, and shall return to this ill-fated land, I will take care to have you lodged in warmer and better finished apartments than those of the house of Colonna, at Sollacaro. But you again should be satisfied not to travel when the weather and the season require one to keep within doors, and wait for a fair day. I expect with impatience the letter which you promised to write to me from Genoa, where I much suspect that the delicacy of the ladies will have obliged you to perform some days of quarantine, for purifying you from every the least infection, which you may have carried with you from the air of this country: and still more so, if you have taken the whim to shew that suit of Corsican velvet * and that bonnet of which the Cor-

* By Corsican velvet he means the coarse stuff made in the island, which is all that the Corsicans have in stead of the fine velvet of Genoa.

ſicans will have the origin to be from the ancient helmets, whereas the Genoeſe ſay it was invented by thoſe who rob on the high way, in order to diſguiſe themſelves; as if during the Genoeſe government, publick robbers needed to fear puniſhment. I am ſure however, that you will have taken the proper method with theſe amiable and delicate perſons, inſinuating to them, that the hearts of beauties are formed for compaſſion, and not for diſdain and tyranny; and ſo you will have been eaſily reſtored to their good graces. Immediately on my return to Corte, I received information of the ſecret landing of Abbatucci (a), on the coaſt of Solenzara. All appearances make us believe, that he is come with deſigns contrary to the publick quiet. He has however ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner at the caſtle, and proteſts his repentance. As I paſſed by Bogognano, I learnt that a diſbanded Genoeſe officer was ſeeking aſſociates to aſſaſſinate me. He could not ſucceed, and finding that he was diſcovered, he betook himſelf to the woods; where he has been ſlain by the party detached by the magiſtrates of the provinces on the other ſide of the mountains.

(a) Abbatucci, a Corſican of a very ſuſpicious character.

in order to intercept him. Theſe ambuſcades do not ſeem to be good preliminaries towards our accommodation with the republick of Genoa. I am now holding the ſyndicato in this province of Nebbio. About the 10th of next month, I ſhall go, for the ſame object, into the province of Capo Corſo, and during the month of February, I ſhall probably fix my reſidence in Balagna. I ſhall return to Corte in the ſpring, to prepare myſelf for the opening of the General Conſulta. Wherever I am, your friendſhip will be preſent to my mind, and I ſhall be deſirous to continue a correſpondence with you. Meanwhile believe me to be,

Your moſt affectionate friend,

PATRIMONIO,
23 December, 1765. } PASCAL PAOLI.

Can any thing be more condeſcending, and at the ſame time ſhew more the firmneſs of an heroick mind, than this letter? With what a gallant pleaſantry does the Corſican Chief talk of his enemies? One would think that the Queens of Genoa ſhould become

Rival Queens for Paoli. If they ſaw him, I am ſure they would.

I take the liberty to repeat an obſervation made to me by that illuſtrious miniſter, whom Paoli calls the Pericles of Great Britain. 'It may be ſaid of Paoli, as the Cardinal de Retz ſaid of the great Montroſe, "C'eſt un de ces hommes qu'on ne trouve plus que dans les Vies de Plutarque. He is one of thoſe men who are no longer to be found but in the lives of Plutarch."

THE END.

N.Y.
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